

# The Nation

VOL. LXXII—NO. 1874.

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## CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

THE WEEK.....	423
EDITORIAL ARTICLES:	
The Decision, and After .....	426
Relations with Canada .....	426
The Tariff and the Trusts .....	427
The Hawaiian Unhappy Family .....	428
Art for the City .....	428
Presbyterian Creed Revision .....	429
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
The Archivo General de Mexico .....	430
The Amherst Eclipse Expedition—I. ....	431
NOTES.....	433
BOOK REVIEWS:	
Gardiner's Commonwealth and Protectorate..	436
Recent Fiction .....	437
A Sailor's Log .....	438
Cæsar's Rhineland .....	439
Five Years of my Life .....	440
Stories of the High Priests of Memphis ..	441
The Norwegian North Polar Expedition.....	441
Two Lectures Introductory to the Study of Poetry .....	441
A Study of Christian Missions .....	442
BOOKS OF THE WEEK.....	442

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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 30, 1901.

## The Week.

Secretary Root's silence, in the face of all that it is asserted he did say and did not say to the Cubans, is not a little remarkable. The report before the Cuban Convention recites certain interpretations of the Platt amendment which, it is added, Mr. Root, "being authorized by President McKinley," gave to the visiting Cubans, and on the strength of which the Platt amendment is to be accepted, if at all. But the Secretary's newspaper friends indignantly deny that he committed himself to anything of the kind. They affirm that it is preposterous to suppose the United States will agree to the provisos which the Cubans are adding, on Mr. Root's alleged authority, to the Platt amendment. Now, it seems only fair that the Secretary of War should let the public know whether he did make to the Cubans the promises they say he did, and to declare explicitly whether the proposed Cuban form of acceptance will be so satisfactory that the troops will be withdrawn under it. In the report of the Cuban delegates they state that they asked Secretary Root to put his assurances in a written form, and that he promised to do so. Apparently, he thought better of it afterwards. There is historic counsel to politicians, never to write a letter. But is there any good reason why Mr. Root should not give to his interested fellow-countrymen an official version of what took place? He must see that, as long as he keeps silent, we are bound to believe, in spite of the incredulous sniffs of his journalistic supporters, that the Cuban account of his promises is correct.

Gov. Allen's declaration that the only way for us to govern Porto Rico is to rule it as the Dutch do Java or the English Bermuda, is the flattest possible contradiction of President McKinley's famous deliverance, "There is no such thing as American Imperialism." To hold crown colonies is perhaps not Imperialism as deep as a well nor as broad as a barn-door, but it will do. To say nothing of the political unwisdom of the Governor of Porto Rico's announcement that the inhabitants of the island are to be deprived of even the measure of self-government we have given them, we think he would have been more discreet if he had waited to find out (1) whether the Supreme Court would permit the establishment of crown colonies, and (2) whether, even if Constitutional, the people of this country would tolerate them.

But the rashness with which such un-American projects are broached by our island officials shows what kind of schemes are buzzing in their heads. If the President has not already privately advised Gov. Allen to leave off his indiscreet talk about turning Porto Rico into a Java, it is high time he did.

Much significance will attach to the filling of the vacancy in the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee caused by the death of Mr. Davis of Minnesota, because of its bearing on the tariff policy of the Republican party at the next session of Congress. The second name on the old list was that of Mr. Frye of Maine; the third, Mr. Cullom of Illinois; and the fourth, Mr. Lodge of Massachusetts. The last named is ambitious to secure the chairmanship, while Mr. Frye is understood not to wish it. The question, therefore, would be between the Massachusetts Senator and Mr. Cullom, and the latter might make his chairmanship of the Interstate Commerce Committee a reason for not taking the promotion to the Foreign Relations Committee, as Mr. Frye makes his primacy in the Commerce Committee. It is understood, however, that Mr. Cullom desires the chairmanship of the Committee which has come to be in some respects the most important in the Senate; and as all the precedents sustain his advancement, it will doubtless be made.

The importance of this choice rests in the fact that Mr. Lodge has been, perhaps, the most earnest opponent of the reciprocity policy in the Senate of late years, while Mr. Cullom has become convinced that both the commercial interests of the nation and the political interests of the Republican party demand the ratification of such treaties as were shelved during the last Congress. It was announced by the *Evening Post's* Washington correspondent a fortnight ago that Mr. Cullom had called upon Mr. Kasson, who negotiated the treaties which were treated so contemptuously by the Senate, and assured him that he might count upon better luck next winter. A more recent dispatch from the same correspondent shows how much in earnest Mr. Cullom is in this matter. The New York correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press* reports that not only is the predominating opinion in the more important commercial circles of this city in favor of the ratification of reciprocity treaties, but it has been discovered that in other States even more reliably Republican than New York "a sentiment is rapidly growing, not only among men whose vocation is politics, but among those who are engaged in industrial pur-

suits, that the time is at hand when the Republican party must either submit to an attack upon its protective policy—an attack that might assume dangerous proportions—or else must consent to such modification of that policy as is to be discovered in reciprocity agreements." The same correspondent reports New York friends of Senator Allison of Iowa as saying that he has discovered that a very strong sentiment exists in the West, and especially in the Mississippi Valley, in favor of the ratification of reciprocity treaties as soon as possible after Congress meets next winter. All of which is most encouraging news.

South Carolina again, as so often before, challenges the attention of the nation by its sensational politics. That both of a State's Senators should resign their seats at the same time is an event without parallel in our history, except for the Conkling and Platt performance, twenty years ago this very month. The issue in this later case is much more worthy of the action than was the petty controversy over Federal patronage between the New York Senators and the Garfield Administration, twenty years ago. Mr. McLaurin was elected as a Democrat, but if he had been a Republican, his course during the last Congress could hardly have been different from what it was. He sustained the McKinley Administration on the peace treaty, the Porto Rico Bill, the Platt amendment regarding Cuba, the Philippine legislation, and the Shipping-Subsidy Bill. That a man with such a record should call himself a Democrat is certainly most anomalous. Fair-minded people have felt as though the only manly thing for Mr. McLaurin to do, under the circumstances, was to resign his seat and let the voters of his party say whether he correctly represented them in this extraordinary course, and Mr. Tillman finally forced him to do so on Saturday by accepting the challenge, made during a joint debate, that he should resign himself.

It is quite impossible for any outsider to express an intelligent opinion as to what is likely to happen in a situation which evidently puzzles the best informed people in South Carolina. Mr. McLaurin's term would have ended in March, 1903, while Mr. Tillman's began only last March. Both naturally will seek reelection for the term which lasts until March 4, 1907, and they would like to have all other ambitious politicians hold their hands off. But there are many men in the State who want to go to the Senate, and it would not be strange if Tillman and McLaurin have the same ex-

perience as Conkling and Platt in finding unexpected rivals turn up. Popular interest throughout the country will hinge upon the fate of the senior Senator, who has become a national character, while McLaurin was never heard of outside his State until he virtually changed his party. It became evident last year that Tillman had already lost some measure of the wonderful hold upon the Democratic masses which he obtained during his rise to power. There was no candidate against him in the Democratic primaries, where the Senatorial question is always settled (the action of the legislators there chosen being a mere formality), but he asked those who did not like him to "scratch" his name, and more than a third of the party did so. This suggests at least the possibility that he may not have perfectly smooth sailing this year.

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has decided that, under the Constitution of that State, there are practically no limits to interference with the government of cities on the part of the State—which means, under existing conditions, on the part of the Quay machine. That machine recently had a law enacted which is known as "the Ripper Act," and which authorized the Quay Governor to remove the mayors of the three cities of the second class—Pittsburgh, Allegheny, and Scranton—and substitute new executives, under the name of recorders, who could overturn the city departments. The Constitutionality of this act was challenged; but four of the seven judges sustained it, holding that "the fact that the action of the State is unwise, unjust, oppressive, or violative of the natural or political rights of the citizens, is not one that can be made the basis of action by the judiciary." They admit that the law infringes upon "what the citizens generally are accustomed to regard as their political rights," but they find that it does not clearly violate any express provision, and so must stand. Most flagrant abuses are thus declared to be possible under the fundamental law of the State by its highest judicial tribunal. The act in question, as the minority of the court points out, "takes from one set of men the offices given them by the people, and hands them over to the Governor that he may confer them on others." Nor is this all. As the three dissenting judges say: "Under the principles of this decision, there is nothing to hinder a hostile partisan majority in the Legislature from ousting the party in power in Philadelphia, a city of the first class, and placing the Government in the possession of the minority."

The Railroad Taxation Bill, just passed by the Michigan Legislature, is a mutilated relic of the Pingree régime,

and is far from satisfactory to those who fought with that erratic politician for tax reform through two State campaigns and through two regular and two special sessions of the Legislature. As in all the previous legislative contests, the Senate has been the stone in the path, the House having tried to carry out the twice-expressed wish of the electors and the recommendations of Govs. Pingree and Bliss. Only once were the Senators forced to yield to Gov. Pingree, when, in extra session, just before the election of November, they agreed to submit to the voters a Constitutional amendment permitting the proposed change in corporate taxation. Their own seats were in danger then. But now, regardless of the large vote cast in favor of this amendment, and of the demand of the Republican platform for a change in the methods of taxation, the Senate has forced the House to agree to a measure for the ad valorem taxation of railroad and express companies only, excluding from the bill such important corporations as telephone, telegraph, and sleeping-car companies. This partial measure is accompanied by a dubious provision adding two members to the three now on the Tax Commission, whose duty it will be to assess railroad property, and to determine the rate of taxation, which is to be the average of that on other property in the State. Appointments to the Commission are to be approved by the Senate, and the two men slated for the places "are agreeable to the railroad," according to the *Detroit Free Press*.

Mr. Schiff's testimony before the Industrial Commission on May 22 gave a clear and conservative presentation of the "community-of-interest" theory. A rate war, Mr. Schiff explained, involves serious loss in earnings to all the companies involved. Under such conditions, "the property suffers, and railroad men are unable to pay high wages to their working force. Now, if the stockholders of the one road hold stock in the other, not necessarily the controlling interest, they will not vote to take any action to reduce the values of their holdings. This is a community of interest." Mr. Schiff here undoubtedly outlines the real extent and the proper scope of the original community-of-interest plan. We say the original plan, because it is manifest to every one conversant with the situation that, in practice, the plan for controlling a rival corporation's policy has passed far beyond the plain and simple theory which Mr. Schiff enunciates. To buy up forty or fifty million dollars' worth of the stock of a rival railway, and assume its ownership in perpetuity by issuing bonds of the purchasing company in exchange for it, is something very different from what Mr. Schiff describes. From one point of

view, indeed, the transaction does not differ from the smaller operations of twenty years ago, when the present railway systems were built up by purchasing useful connecting roads and issuing stock or bonds to pay the price. But purchase of "feeders" belonging strategically to a given system differs in all essential points from purchase of rival lines, and it is on this control of rivals that the controversy hangs to-day.

So long as purchases of this sort are made and held by individuals, objection to the policy must be confined to general grounds. But this plan, except in a few of the Gould and Vanderbilt connections, is no longer pursued. The price is too enormous, the consequent locking-up of capital too embarrassing, for even the largest capitalist to embark his private fortune in it. Hence the practice of buying the stock of a rival company and selling it to another railway, whose credit is thereupon pledged to raise the funds. Here, again, it might be argued that, if the shareholders of the buying company vote to make the purchase, the possible risk of the venture is their own affair. But this sort of public appeal to shareholders is exactly what does not happen. The Board of Directors controls the property, a firm of bankers or a single capitalist controls the directors, and the purchase is made—as in the cases of the Burlington and the Southern Pacific—at the single bidding of this outside interest.

Secretary Root has done his duty about the matter of insubordination at West Point in a way which commands the hearty approval of the public. Now the public must stand by him in the attempts which are sure to be made by powerful influences to undo his good work. No outsider has any conception of the tremendous "pull" which can be exercised by so large a group of cadets as have just been subjected to merited punishment. Every possible effort will be made to secure an amelioration of the penalties inflicted, and there will be danger that this policy will succeed unless it is made clear that the nation will not consent to condone the offences committed. The good name of the Military Academy is at stake in this matter. Discipline must be maintained, or the institution will fall into such disrepute that its whole future will be imperilled.

The final harmony and unanimity of the Presbyterian Assembly in agreeing to the preparation of a brief and untechnical creed for use in the churches, could scarcely have been looked for by one who had observed the warmth of the debates of last week. What secured general acquiescence was the amendment setting forth that the new declaratory creed was not to be a "substitute" for the Westminster Confession, or an "alternative" to it. That is, the Con-



fession will remain the official and judicial standard. Yet it is apparent that it cannot long remain so, in practice, after the new creed gets into use. It is the latter which, in effect, and with the hearty assent of the great body of Presbyterian laymen, will come to be taken as the authorized expression of Presbyterian faith; and the Confession, having visibly waxed old as doth a garment, will more and more tend to vanish away.

Whatever the merits of the controversy between the New York Yacht Club and Mr. Lawson, every one is glad that the *Independence* is to meet the *Constitution* for the honor of defending the *America's* Cup. The public wants to see the best boat win, and most sportsmen will agree with the public that the battle of technicalities that has run on for some months has been a good deal of a bore. The profession of sea-lawyer is little in honor among yachtsmen, and it is hard to see how either Mr. Lawson or the Club is to be held wholly clear from that reproach. More unlucky than the controversy has been the publicity given to the incomplete negotiations. Much of the discussion has been absolutely unfair and damaging to the Club, while Mr. Lawson comes out of the whole affair rather more compromised by the friends, than loved for the enemies, he has made. The publication of the complete correspondence was most unfortunate for the owner of the *Independence*, and little advantageous to the Club. Suppose that everybody had kept quiet, and that Mr. Lawson's letter of Saturday, offering to put his boat in the hands of a member of the New York Yacht Club, had been the only document of record, it is easy to see how the press would have rung with Mr. Lawson's praises, and it is hard to imagine that the Club, through taking such a course, would have suffered in popular estimation. The least said the soonest mended in these cases. If it has not been a very pretty quarrel, fortunately it has ended well. The Boston boat will be entered in the trial races, and we shall know that the Cup is defended by the better boat. That is the main thing, and, for the rest, sportsmen should be the readiest to let bygones be bygones.

Mr. Carnegie's donation of \$10,000,000 to the Scotch universities in a lump sum seems at first to have taken away the breath of the British public by its magnitude. Now that they have had time to think it over, the expression of opinion is conflicting, not as to the generosity of the donor, but as to the ultimate effects of the donation. Nobody has hitherto shown a keener perception than Mr. Carnegie of the maxims of political economy on the subject of pauperizing the poor with gifts. In this case the question is raised whether he is not in one

sense pauperizing the rich, seeing that he proposes to pay the tuition fees of all students in the universities of his native country, without reference to their own pecuniary resources. The grave question comes up, also, whether he is not doing harm to other institutions of learning which compete with the four universities in the work of educating the youth of Scotland, and which depend upon fees in whole or in part for their sustenance. Is it on the whole helpful to education to remove or weaken this element of competition? These and other questions are rife in the British press, and will probably be discussed at the approaching jubilee of Glasgow University and on other platforms. In a matter of such far-reaching importance, it may be assumed that no hasty conclusion will be accepted. The Scottish educators are among the first in the world. They will undoubtedly act in a way to promote both sound learning and self-help. That Mr. Carnegie will cooperate with them to the end of making his benefaction most useful to his fellow-countrymen may also be taken for granted.

While it is not likely that the Salisbury Government means to do anything serious for popular education, recent discussions in Parliament have brought out strikingly the backwardness, in this regard, of England, as compared with the rest of the civilized world. England releases the school-child earlier, and at best educates him fewer years, than any other nation of the first class. An English child may leave school at the age of twelve, and is no longer entitled to free education after the age of fifteen. In Germany, on an average for the different provinces, children must attend school till sixteen; in the United States, till fifteen. That is, the American or German child has an advantage over the English child of from two to three years of school. At the other end the disparity is even more striking. In Germany all children may claim the privilege of free education two years longer than in England; in the United States, five years longer. In France, as everybody knows, education is absolutely free, from the primary school to the university. In 1868 Matthew Arnold ventured the prophecy that within a quarter of a century there would be a Minister of Education in England, and free secondary education. He was too hopeful. The problem remains about what it was in his time. England has rested content with partial measures for primary education, while other nations, and Scotland even, have steadily advanced towards a well-ordered educational system. There is a triumph in store for the Ministry which will do as much for England; but that Ministry is not Lord Salisbury's.

Germany adopts tardily the policy of withdrawal from Peking, and falls in

tacitly with what history will probably call the American leadership. German diplomacy was committed to the other policy. The contingent was to hold Peking with the other Powers until the court should return from the interior and negotiate with the conquerors face to face. This was to deal with the imperial yamen a little as if it were not only fugitive, but captured. There was talk of the pusillanimity of withdrawing, and the German attitude got some recognition as heroic. But as it became clearer that the Chinese court was better practised in the waiting game, the German attitude became uncomfortable and a little ridiculous. This they have had the grace to see. Meanwhile unnecessary delay has complicated the affair sadly. That this tardy action of Germany is the complete vindication of Secretary Hay's view of the case need hardly be pointed out. Where no trust is reposed there is no treason, says Dante. Secretary Hay early saw the disastrous results of withholding trust from the Chinese, which was not only good morals, but high diplomacy. The assumption of a peculiar kind of Oriental perfidy in the Chinese has proved to be the worst possible basis of negotiations. It is encouraging that Germany now chooses, even though reluctantly, the better part.

Admiral Cervera's fear lest the political agitation in Spain lead to a break-up of the country, reflects the stubborn way in which local rights and privileges are still asserted in various parts of Spanish territory. In spite of an apparently centralized and military government at Madrid, regionalism remains an enormous power in the political life of Spain. What control from the capital can do in the way of securing a Cortes of the desired color, the recent elections have shown again. As always, the Government wins. Its majority is what it chooses to make it. Sagasta gets a "vote of confidence" from the country, just as his rival, Silvela, would have done if he had remained at the head of the Ministry and kept his hand on the electoral machinery. Spaniards themselves laugh at the farce of these so-called elections. But, with all its appearance of arbitrary and unchecked power, the Government cannot ride over local prejudice too roughly. The Basque provinces would flame into rebellion if their old *fueros* were infringed upon; the Carlists are as stoutly insistent upon theirs as they were at the time of the Peace of Vergara; and the turbulent Republicans of Catalonia fiercely resent too open an appearance of dictation from Madrid. But Sagasta is too old a hand at the game to make it probable that he will force matters so as to bring on an open conflict, with possible disruption. Cervera appears to have been making an over-rhetorical and alarmist plea for a new navy.

## THE DECISION, AND AFTER.

It is unfortunately true that the Supreme Court of the United States has not for some years enjoyed its old respect. In saying this we are but echoing the unconcealed opinion of lawyers who practise before it, and who are competent to pass upon its judicial reasoning. The thing speaks for itself. In nearly all the important cases from the income-tax decision down, the Court has been almost evenly divided, the prevailing opinion has not been written with the majestic march of logic which convinces the understanding while it settles the law, and the dissenting justices have expressed themselves with heat and almost with passion. This does not argue a happy personnel. The Court appears to be without a large and luminous mind like Marshall's, or the late Justice Miller's, to seize upon great principles and state them in such a way as to compel the assent of its associated and feebler intellects. The result is the divisions, we had almost said the wranglings, which have of late marked and marred the decisions of our highest court.

Monday's appearance of the Supreme Court, in passing upon many of the so-called insular cases before it, was certainly not of a sort to heighten either legal or general respect for it. This is confessed even by those who are pleased with the majority opinion. When two judges like Justice Brown and Justice White arrive at the same conclusion from openly and violently antagonistic premises, the lay mind may well think the course of reasoning tortuous. "I agree with you," said Justice White, "but your arguments are confused and wholly unconvincing, and your principles are in direct conflict with the true ones." This may be consistent with judicial dignity, but it does not make the bench dignified. Then there was the extraordinary realignment of the judges in the different cases—now dissent, now agreement, now this side, now that, but somehow a majority of one always preserved for the main contention of the Government. Old Thomas Fuller said that the only kind of logic he knew or cared about was that which, whatever the premises, brought out the praise and glory of God in the conclusion. So the majority of the Supreme Court have the inevitable air of having determined to uphold the Administration, no matter from what or how contradictory premises they started.

But while all this is regrettable, and while we should have maintained that it is, even if the judgment of the Court had been one that we did not regret, the law of the land has now been judicially determined. Five justices of the Supreme Court uphold the power of Congress to govern newly acquired territory as to Congress seemeth good. One of the five, Justice Brown, arrives at

his judgment by a course of reasoning which Justice White pronounces, with the concurrence of Justices Shiras and McKenna, to be mistaken and pernicious. Yet these three concur in the findings which they say are absurdly based. Justice Gray concurs for still other reasons of his own. Thus the apparently hopeless fusion of opposing opinions was accomplished, and "the judgment of the Court" placed on record to the effect that the Porto Rican Tariff Act is Constitutionally valid.

That is for the present the law. But does it affect the question of the expediency or the morality of a colonial policy? Not in the slightest degree. Justice Brown himself admits that the great questions about our island possessions are to be "finally decided" (then not yet decided) by "the American people," and distinctly foreshadows the possibility that the decision may be to permit our new-caught sullen peoples to "form independent governments." And in one respect the decision of the Court may yet help on the cause of Philippine independence. By asserting the absolute power of Congress to "dispose" of territory, it stops the mouths of those who have been saying that the Philippines are ours, and that there is no way of alienating them. But the Court's opinion knows nothing of a power which is absolute to acquire but impotent to alienate, and plainly points the legal way to permitting, in territory now under control of Congress, the formation of "independent governments." That is a judicial platform good enough for the advocates of Philippine independence to stand upon.

As for the main and prevailing opinion of the Court, so strangely arrived at—a wedding of contradictories—we believe that Justice Brown was unconsciously predicting its future in what he said of the Dred Scott case. In that opinion, he remarked, "the country did not acquiesce," and he added, "Changes in judicial as well as public sentiment seriously impair the authority of that case." Similar changes may yet sweep away the authority of Monday's decision of the Supreme Court. But the immediate duty is, while accepting it as law, to make it tributary to liberty. Congress has full power to do what it will with the islanders, says the highest court. Very well, let us see to it that Congress does nothing inconsistent with humanity, with justice, with our broadest and proudest American traditions. Public sentiment is above Congress and courts. An aroused and jealous democracy may easily brush away, if it will, all these miserable limitations upon the rights of man.

The appeal now lies to the spirit of fair play and of freedom. If we are not compelled to extend the privileges and guarantees of the Constitution to our helpless wards, all the more reason for

doing so voluntarily. The Supreme Court, it is true, in its apologetic and halting majority opinion, affirms that the fundamental provisions of the Constitution respecting life, liberty, and property do tacitly control Congress in legislating for dependencies. But, as the Chief Justice pointedly said in his dissenting opinion, if you grant unlimited power to tax, you grant unlimited power to dispose of property, liberty, yes, of life itself. If you take away the means of life, you take away life. No, it is idle to pretend that, under this decision of the Supreme Court, the island men have any rights which Congress is bound to respect. But what is the inference which lovers of liberty and of their kind should draw from that? Despair, or silent acquiescence in tyranny under the forms of law? Not for a moment. What they must seek to do, without hesitation or wavering, is to create an invincible body of public opinion which will ask, not what may we legally do, but what must we do as honest and consistent Americans, loyal to the principles of 1789.

## RELATIONS WITH CANADA.

The Prime Minister of Canada, in reply to a question on Thursday, said that he had reason to believe that the Joint High Commission between Great Britain and the United States would resume its meetings at an early date. It may be assumed, therefore, that there is some prospect of a settlement of the questions which the Commission was unable to solve when the previous conference was held. The principal difficulty then was the Alaskan boundary dispute. If that question had been disposed of satisfactorily, everything else could have been easily managed. We might not have reached a treaty of reciprocity at that time, but we should have been in a fair way toward it.

The Alaskan boundary is still an obstacle of some magnitude. The opinion prevails in Canada that the United States contention that the true boundary runs parallel to the indentations of the coast, is contrary to all contemporaneous testimony and understanding; that the three Governments of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States understood that it followed the general contour, and not the small indentations of the seaboard; and that no different interpretation would ever have arisen if gold had not been discovered in the Klondike. However this may have been, the opposite opinion is now so generally held among us that any claim to the possession of the headwaters of the Lynn Canal by Canada, if put forward as a matter of right, would be rejected at once. On this point even those most friendly to Canada would agree. This is not, however, the last word on the subject. There may be means of sat-



isfying all the commercial wants of Canada without surrendering sovereignty over American territory. There may be a fair exchange of property, not inconsistent with the rights of the citizens of Skaguay or any other American town or settlement. The boundary dispute may, by mutual agreement, be referred to arbitration.

If the boundary dispute were amicably disposed of, the way would be open to better trade relations between the two countries. There can be no doubt that the Dominion Government was earnestly desirous of effecting a commercial agreement two years ago. The Liberals came into office pledged to do their utmost to obtain entrance to the markets of the United States for Canadian products. The majority of the people of Canada were in favor of this policy, but the manufacturing interests were not. In Montreal, one of the strongholds of the Liberals, the Board of Trade, when invited by the Government to give an expression of sentiment upon the arrangement through the Joint High Commission for negotiations for closer commercial relations with the United States, replied that it was opposed to reciprocal trade between Canada and the United States in manufactured articles and dairy products, until the preferential tariff with Great Britain had been in force a sufficient time to demonstrate the results of its provisions. It is evident that lumber, coal, fish, and general agricultural products barred the way to an agreement on the part of the United States Commissioners, and that manufactured articles barred the way for the Canadian Commissioners.

In Canada the results of the preferential tariff with Great Britain have been a surprise, inasmuch as the imports from the United States have very largely increased, while the imports from Great Britain have remained nearly stationary. Therefore, the opposition of the Montreal Board of Trade may be considered disposed of. It is noteworthy that the preferential tariff with Great Britain was a factor of no mean value in Canada's position during the negotiations through the Joint High Commission; as also that the Dominion Government is now sounding the other possessions of Great Britain upon the advisability of forming a commercial combination with Great Britain. The object of these moves is obvious. If they shall fail to induce the United States to agree to closer commercial relations, they will offer the alternative of enlarged trade with other countries.

Since the last session of the Commission, some changes have taken place on our own side, affecting the attitude of the United States and Canada toward each other. The extraordinary growth of our export trade has made protection look like small business. The evident

intention of President McKinley to push the pending reciprocity treaties to a conclusion will bring reciprocity with Canada to the front. It would be a trifle incongruous to compass sea and land in order to procure reciprocity with France, and at the same time to disregard it with a country separated from us only by an imaginary line.

As the situation between the two countries now stands, there is an extraordinary flow of capital and enterprise from the United States into Canada, and the probabilities are that the flow will steadily continue. This is introducing into Canada a colonizing influence by the United States that must build up a continental policy north and south of the boundary. If the Joint High Commission reassembles and arrives at an agreement satisfactory to Congress and the Dominion Parliament, this policy will rapidly gather strength. But even if an agreement for closer commercial relations be not made at the present time, the weakening of the protectionist sentiment in the United States, due to the astonishing growth of our export trade, will eventually open the door to freer trade with Canada, so far as it depends upon our volition. When that time comes, the farmers, the lumbermen, the miners, and the fishermen of Canada will compel the opposing interests to yield.

#### THE TARIFF AND THE TRUSTS.

In the May number of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* Mr. Charles Beardsley discusses the question of the tariff in its relation to Trusts, or combinations formed for suppressing competition. He considers that the McKinley tariff of 1890 was the first great incitement to the formation of Trusts, for the Standard Oil Trust, although earlier in point of time, was not dependent on any tariff, and stood alone in the field for many years. The concentration of industry in large establishments was already taking shape, but the law of competition was in force generally. Directly after the passage of the McKinley tariff, however, the articles of sugar, starch, linseed oil, lead, whiskey, tobacco, and envelopes were made the subjects of monopoly, or attempted monopoly, under the protecting duties given to the producers. From that time to the present, Trusts and combines have multiplied in the land, and a new branch of industry has grown up, that of the promoter of combinations. Mr. Beardsley is of the opinion that the movement is inevitable, and he is not disposed to condemn it. On the contrary, he thinks that "It should be welcomed as an important step forward in the evolution of industry," but that it does not need to be helped forward by acts of Congress and ought not to be.

Mr. Beardsley gives a list of the prin-

cipal existing Trusts, with the rates of duty on competing articles imported from abroad, and the amount of such articles actually imported during the fiscal year 1900. Thus it appears that the American Steel and Wire Trust is protected by an average duty of 49.22 per cent., and that the importation of competing articles was \$174,816 for the year. The Tin-Plate Trust has a duty of nearly 47 per cent., and the importation was \$4,391,800. Of course the American tin plate was sold, or might have been sold, 47 per cent. higher here than it was offered in the world's markets, although the steel billets from which it is made in Wales are in part produced in the United States. Window glass is protected by a duty of 66 per cent. average, and the importation was \$1,530,637. This is also made by a Trust. Table glass, a separate concern, has 60 per cent. The National Salt Company has a duty of 89 per cent. on salt in bulk, the Starch Company 73 per cent., the Carbon Company 115 per cent. for electric-lighting carbons, the Distilling Company 123 per cent. protection against Scotch whiskey.

The conclusions reached by Mr. Beardsley are that this condition of things cannot last, and that it ought not to last. He holds that the tariff on goods of any sort of which the cost of production, including a fair profit, is no higher in the United States than in foreign countries, should be little or nothing. All duties above this are an incitement to monopoly and are sure to run into monopoly. Most iron and steel products, he contends, can now be produced in the United States as cheaply as anywhere else in the world, "if not more cheaply than anywhere else," yet they are protected by an average duty of 37 per cent. ad valorem. The paper industry is another in which we can compete with any nation on equal terms. In fact, our exports of paper exceed our imports, yet the duty on imported paper and manufactures of paper is equal to 29 per cent. ad valorem. It should be borne in mind, too, that imported articles must pay ocean and inland freights and other charges, which are in the nature of additional protection to the home producer.

Mr. Beardsley would not lower the tariff in a spirit of hostility to combinations, or for the purpose of crushing them out, but merely to correct monopoly abuses. He thinks, however, that the rapid progress of consolidation among the tariff-protected Trusts has made revision of the tariff necessary, and that it cannot be long delayed. The consolidation of an industry, he says, is no reason, of itself, for withdrawing protection, but the existing rates are in some cases so excessive, and the prices charged to the home consumer so oppressive, that the present condition may be described as dangerous. The facts collected in Mr.

Beardsley's paper make it an important contribution to the literature of the subject.

The discussion of Congressman Babcock's proposition to repeal the duties on iron and steel continues in the Western newspapers in a fitful way, showing that it is not to be put down by a sneer, or to be stamped out as a heresy in the Republican party. In fact, all signs point to a new political issue growing out of this question, not necessarily between the Republicans and the Democrats, but rather dividing both parties. The issue will come first between the moderates and the extremists in the Republican ranks, counting among the former such men as Mr. Kasson, Congressman Babcock, Senator Cullom, Senator Allison, and President McKinley himself, and, on the other hand, the Boston Home Market Club, the tariff-protected Trusts, Senators Lodge and Frye, the ship-subsidy crowd, and all who apprehend that any change of the tariff, even in the form of a reciprocity treaty, will open the whole question and bring in wholesale reductions.

The original theory of tariff protection as formulated by Hamilton, that it was intended merely to give manufacturing industries a chance to start, to be restricted to such as were not already established, and to be abandoned as soon as they were well going, has been lost sight of. Even Senator Hoar appealed the other day to "the doctrine of the great economic school which Hamilton founded," oblivious of the fact that Hamilton considered the iron and steel industry already established here in 1790, although he was willing to recommend temporary duties on those articles as high as 7½ and 10 per cent. Such anachronisms and such misconceptions cannot hold the ground much longer in the Republican party, or in any group of thinking men.

#### THE HAWAIIAN UNHAPPY FAMILY.

Meagre press dispatches have given only bare hints of the quarrels by which people in the Hawaiian Islands are now rent asunder. The political smoke and lava-flow are as if Mauna Loa were in eruption. Our cheerful Imperialists, however, pay no attention to these things. To annex an island they will throw themselves into a noble rage and defy the world; but to govern it well—faugh! such plodding work is not for them. They are after another island by that time. Who does not remember the intimate knowledge of Hawaii displayed some years ago by every annexationist in this country? Why, the very children in the streets knew all about the wicked "monarchists" in Honolulu, and the heroic "patriots" who risked all in order to give away their country. But that was before we got the islands. Now that they are ours, we

care nothing for them. There is something in the Bible about compassing sea and land to make one proselyte, and his turning out, when made, twofold more the child of—well, the Imperialists are mighty in the Scriptures, and it is not necessary to complete the citation.

The bitterest controversy in the Territory of Hawaii is that which is raging between the Legislature and Governor. Under the terms of the organic act, the regular session of the Legislature expired by limitation on May 1. But it had not passed the necessary appropriation bills, and there were many other matters of legislation which had failed. Accordingly, a joint resolution was passed requesting Gov. Dole to extend the session. A petition to the same effect was laid before him by a committee of "Home Rulers," but the Governor "turned to them with a smile," and said that he should refuse to do anything of the kind. He added:

"The time of the session has been wasted by the law-makers, and the public funds have been dissipated without accomplishing any good results.

"I have it on good authority that the members of the Legislature have disregarded their oaths to such a degree as to have been guilty of taking bribes in consideration of their individual efforts in the interests of certain measures which came before them. I have this information on such excellent authority that it would be a dereliction in duty for me to hesitate in this matter, and I therefore deny the petition and refuse to extend the session as requested."

The leader of the "Home Rulers" "drew a deep breath" when he heard this, and "gasped with surprise." Then he told the Governor that it was a most serious charge which he had made against the Legislature, and one "that every man of honor among us wants to see proved." He probably meant disproved, unless he was an Irishman, like that other Celt who went to a lawyer to complain that so and so had called him a liar: "And I propose to make him prove it." Gov. Dole, however, declined to prove his charges, though, as he has served long on the bench and knows what legal evidence is, and is not a man given to impetuous utterance, it is probable he has something pretty definite to go upon.

But the Legislature took a glorious revenge. It adopted an address to President McKinley praying him to "remove from his high office" the Governor of the Territory. This official's high crimes and misdemeanors seemed a little vague in the specifications, it must be confessed. It is asserted that he has "lost the confidence of the majority of the people"; that he "has not their best interests at heart," and that he is "trying to take from its rightful owners, to give to a few, the heritage of the people." Those are even more serious charges than the ones made by Gov. Dole against the Legislature, but it is clear that, as they stand, it is impossible to prove them, however much men of honor may want to see them proved.

But what the Legislature really desires is to have the President order Gov. Dole to extend the session. "We know," they remark innocently, "that it is a matter out of your real sphere, yet a suggestion from you will be sufficient to accomplish the end." But as Mr. McKinley will scarcely make even a suggestion out of his real sphere, it is safe to say that the Legislature will be called, as Gov. Dole proposes, only in special session to pass appropriation bills, and to do nothing else.

The whole thing is plainly a disgusting political squabble. A set of immigrant promoters and schemers have seen their plans go wrong, and are filled with fury against Gov. Dole. Americans that they are, they speak of "his infamous republic" which he got the United States to annex, and actually go so far as to advocate a "revolution" against him. It is the *Honolulu Republican*, the organ of the smart and pushing crowd that has gone to the islands since annexation, which calls for this new Hawaiian revolution against a "pliant and weak Executive who would suck the life-blood out of this fair land." But Gov. Dole has received the endorsement of the Republican Central Committee of Hawaii, and appears to have the support of the great majority of conservative citizens, so that he will probably continue to suck blood as before.

Even Federal officials in Hawaii do not find themselves living in a happy family. The United States District Attorney recently made a savage arraignment of a jury which had refused to convict a man on the clearest evidence, and Judge Estee remarked from the bench that he "heartily endorsed" what District Attorney Baird had said of the repeated miscarriages of justice, and incontinently discharged the jury for the term. The thing was done, said the District Attorney, to "save the United States Government" the disgrace of such travesties of justice as had been witnessed in that court. Like truthful James, we but state the facts as we find them in the Hawaiian newspapers. We have no interpretation of them to insist upon, but we think the Imperialists and Annexationists ought to have one. At any rate, they ought not to be so silent about the Hawaii that they have got, and scream so loudly about some other islands that they want to get.

#### ART FOR THE CITY.

The Municipal Art Society differs from similar New York organizations in taking the city just as it finds it. While many organizations tacitly assume that the city should do things which it now leaves undone, or that it should undo what it has done already, the Municipal Art Society assumes that the broad lines of public expenditure



are fixed on general grounds of utility, and that no Ruskinian protest against the hideousness of the modern city will avail. The city is here with a thousand growing needs. Merchants' signs and advertisements there must be as long as goods are sold; lamp-posts as long as there are lamps; post and fire-alarm boxes till the Post-office and accidental fire are outgrown. To all time the city must fill our streets with such objects of utility. That these may and should be objects of beauty as well, is the contention of the Municipal Art Society.

At a recent meeting of the Society its President, Mr. John De Witt Warner, described the plan of operation. The Society, he said, does not presume to tell the city how it shall spend its money, but only how it may get, with efficiency, the greatest amount of sightliness for the money it must spend. The Society believes that our streets are filled with ugly objects, planned with respect neither to themselves nor to each other, not because we prefer ugly to beautiful objects, but because we give the matter no thought. City officials, merchants, and builders lack the time, even when they have the taste and skill, to consider anything beyond immediate utility. Now to make an object planned for use beautiful requires less money than taste and taking of thought. The commonest objects may be made pleasing to the eye, and gain thereby utility. In Pompeii and Herculaneum, for example, the very kitchen utensils were so planned that, while as useful as ours, they had a distinct artistic quality. It is this element of taste and reflection, which the city lacks, that the Municipal Art Society offers to supply. It includes artists and decorators and men of affairs who are used to considering the form as well as the function of things. It represents a certain taste and knowledge which it puts at the city's disposal. The aim is simply service.

This attitude can hardly be misinterpreted. It is not only a generous, but a friendly one to all who, in public or in private capacity, are building up the visible city of New York; for it rests on this faith, that when at equal expenditure a sightly and an unsightly object are offered, men will generally choose the sightly. The city officials have put up a great many ugly objects in the streets, not because they prefer ugly objects to beautiful, but because they have not known that there was a choice. The Municipal Art Society will see to it that the better thing is held in view, confident that in the long run the better thing will be chosen.

A concrete example is at present before the people. The City Council must soon provide for the marking of the streets. Its part of the work will be

done when it decides where the signs are to be affixed, how they shall be displayed, and how much they are to cost. At this point the work of the Municipal Art Society begins. It will try to determine the best form and lettering for these signs, confident that they may be made such as to serve their purpose well and yet give character to the street-corners. Similarly, when the occasion arises for new lamp-posts, gas or electric, or for patrol boxes, the Society will give each problem its attention. It wishes the city to get the best kind of lamp-post or patrol box that can be had for the money, and believes itself able to help the city to get the best.

The question of street advertising is already the subject of restrictive legislation in many American cities. It is probable that examples of good advertising will do more to bring about reform than hostile ordinances. No merchant strings costly and hideous signs across his building because he likes to spend money for ugly signs, but because he thinks that it is good business. Show him that the business sign may be a beautiful architectural feature, show him that it is bad business to make a good or a tolerable building look flimsy by shingling it with detached signs, show him that the smaller and neater sign is absolutely less expensive and more effective, and you have made an unconscious convert to the cause of municipal art. Gain a few such merchants, and you have redeemed, artistically, a quarter of a city. Dreams! Counsels of perfection! some one will say. Skeptical reader, they have actually done it in Brussels. A voluntary society took up the question of merchants' signs, the merchants entered enthusiastically into the movement, and to-day the city is a model in this respect. The Belgians are no cleverer, certainly no more artistic, than ourselves; they have been, in this matter, simply more sensible than we have learned to be.

The Municipal Art Society will hold exhibitions illustrating the best forms of the every-day street objects, in the hope that these suggestions will be taken up by the business men of the city. At present largely composed of artists, the Society seeks lay members. It wants the men who build, and advertise, and pass city ordinances, and direct city contracts; for it is these men who really have in their hands the power to make this city beautiful. Fine pictures may abound in public and private collections; noble buildings and stately monuments may be multiplied in the city, and yet these isolated objects hardly touch the city as a whole. These things may remain only art in the city—the luxury of the few. What we need is art for the city in its ordinary, necessary day's work. Towards this end many individuals and many organizations are striving—none more directly and hopefully than the so-

ciety whose purposes we have briefly described.

#### PRESBYTERIAN CREED REVISION.

Once before, in recent years, the Presbyterian Church was agitated by a debate over the revision of its standards of doctrine. Apparently some modification of its symbols was then desired by a majority of the churches; but the anti-revisionists, under the skilful leadership of President Patton of Princeton, managed to burke the movement. They were greatly helped by the complication of the Briggs heresy trial. It enabled them to throw an ingenious, because only suggested, theological odium upon the advocates of a revised creed. "You see," the deft implication was, "what revision will come to—German studies, an unholy use of Oriental languages, belief in the Deutero-Isaiah, assertions that Daniel is a writing of the second century B. C., and other enormities of the kind." That would never do, and both revision and Professor Briggs were given their quietus at about the same time.

But in the public discussions of those years, as in the debates which have attracted so much attention at Philadelphia during the past week—culminating in an acceptance of the proposal to adopt a shorter declaratory creed—an impartial auditor could not fail to detect a strange note of unreality. It is as if ghosts were arguing with shadows. What we mean is, that neither side speaks its real and full mind, but each is so hampered by the traditional and conventional, so tied up with awkwardnesses and *arrière pensées*, that the eye seems as far as possible from being on the actual fact. Carlyle used to rail at all public speaking. It was simply impossible, he maintained, for an orator to tell the truth, so fettered must he always be by his audience and time and place. Certainly the theological debater in public will find it hard to escape such limitations. As a matter of fact, any one at all acquainted with either the conservatives or the liberals in the Presbyterian Church knows that a dress-parade debate on the Westminster Confession is the last place to learn their real views about it. Privately, the stiffest opponent of revision would admit that many of the clauses of the creed were utterly repugnant to him; and in confidence the liberals would go much further than they do in full view of the world. As we say, the necessary result is to make the arguments, the speakers, the creed itself, seem like phantoms in a mist.

We boast of our realism in art and letters and criticism of life, but it is strange how little reality we arrive at in our attempts to estimate men's actual theological beliefs. A heresy trial, a set debate on doctrinal statements,

are not the true test. Do you want to know whether a clergyman really believes in infant damnation? Do not ask at what seminary he studied, to what creed he has subscribed, or to what denomination he belongs; find out what he says in comfort of the mother from whom a young life has been torn away, just as it was blooming into consciousness. There you will find his working creed, which is, of course, his real creed. And if you want to discover what the most unbending divine at Philadelphia really thinks of the awful possibilities beyond the grave, do not take his word for it in some state discourse on Calvinism, some stout defence of the faith once delivered to the saints, but listen to him as he stands by the coffin of a man who has died "outside the pale" of Christianity. It is then that the infinite yearning of human hearts that mourn plays havoc with formal theology, and lets the real theology appear.

Perhaps the most glaring of the unrealities which strike one in this dispute about the Westminster Confession is the assumption that it is a system of doctrine dear to the hearts of the Presbyterian laity. Nothing could be further from the truth. Presbyterian laymen do not have to subscribe to the Confession; nine-tenths of them do not know, except in the vaguest way, what is in it; it is not preached in the churches; if a minister should undertake to preach some parts of it, in literal acceptance of its statements, he would be held in execration by his own hearers. These facts are easily capable of verification. A mere attendant of a Presbyterian church would not know from the preaching, year in and year out, what evangelical denomination was the clergyman's. Whatever Presbyterian ministers may keep in the back of their heads, they preach a tolerant and Christian doctrine. It is only by their humanity, their goodness, their sympathy, their helpfulness, and their self-sacrifice that they endear themselves to their people, who in their secret hearts care little for any creed except that of a noble life.

Not to be guilty ourselves of unreality, we hasten to add that we see in the excitement over creed revision much more than a mere dispute about words. We understand the anxieties which it arouses in the minds of some of the best people in the world. What they are thinking of is their Church, not as a refuge for invalids, but as an association for doing good, a mighty social engine, the mother and sustainer of the sweetest charities, the organization which, when all is said, best embodies in this poor world of ours all that range of humane activities which the late Charles L. Brace summed up under the comprehensive name *Gesta Christi*. And what is feared is that somehow the stability, and so the use-

fulness, of this company of Christian believers will be impaired by changing the historic formula of its faith. We think the fear is groundless, but we can see that it is sincere, and we respect the motives, wholly unselfish, from which it springs. But these excellent people should strengthen themselves in the assurance that, whatever may happen to the phraseology of their creed, which has the inevitable marks of its age upon it, the pulsating Christian benevolence and enthusiasm which are the real life of their Church cannot be taken away. They may bring themselves to confess with Carlyle that possibly the Westminster divines "did not get to the bottom of the Bottomless after all," and that "the Great God means something other and farther than they imagined"; but that still the things which are lovely and of good report will continue to be the fragrance of the Christian Church.

#### THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE MEXICO.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, May 20, 1901.

However much students of Spanish-American history may differ with Hubert Howe Bancroft, they can hardly withhold grateful acknowledgment of his path-breaking work in the bibliography of the subject. Nevertheless, even in this field his statements are sometimes seriously misleading. In the preface to his 'History of Mexico,' vol. I., p. viii., he speaks of his material as including "a copy of the famous 'Archivo General de Mexico' in thirty-two volumes." In the list of authorities placed at the beginning of his 'North Mexican States and Texas,' he mentions the same collection, describing it further as in manuscript; and in the body of the work, *e. g.*, vol. I., pp. 631-2, note 34, he makes references to it that are consistent with this description. In his 'Arizona and New Mexico,' p. 21, he refers to the series as "the 32 volumes of MSS. which make up the 'Archivo General de Mexico,' or which, rather, form an introduction or beginning for the hundreds of volumes of records preserved there—collected from all parts of the country by order of Carlos IV., dated February 21, 1790." In these and other references he gives various bits of information relative to the contents of the series, always naming it by the same title, to wit, "Archivo General de [or of] Mexico." Justin Winsor, evidently following Bancroft, uses, in his 'Narrative and Critical History of America,' II., 399, the same designation. But to call the series of thirty-two volumes which Bancroft describes clearly enough for identification the "Archivo General," is a serious mistake. In the expression quoted above from his 'Arizona and New Mexico' he reveals some knowledge of the real relation of the series to the "Archivo General," but he only makes the confusion greater for the student by leaving the proper application of the title hopelessly uncertain.

If the visitor to the City of Mexico will pass from the Plaza Mayor in at the most southerly entrance to the Palacio Nacional and turn to the right when he reaches the courtyard on the inside, he will see in front of him a door above which is the

legend in large script letters, "Archivo General y Público de la Nación." If he comes duly accredited and will place himself under the guidance of the courtly Archivero, he will be led from room to room between shelf-covered walls lined with documentary materials, bound and unbound, and he will not need to be told that no man ever had a copy of the "Archivo General." There is, in fact, enough matter contained therein to make about seventy thousand volumes. Such is the estimate of the Archivero, Señor Justino Rubio. To him the writer is indebted also for a brief outline of the history of the collection and description of its contents, which may be summarized as follows:

The idea of forming an *archivo general* which should contain "los papeles y monumentos" of New Spain originated with the Viceroy Revillagigedo. After some correspondence on the subject with the authorities at Madrid during the years 1790-92, in which his scheme was commended and he was asked to perfect it and send estimates of its cost, he was forced by the negligence of the home Government to proceed with it as best he could on his own responsibility. He had submitted also a plan for the regulation of the secretaryship of the viceroyalty, concerning which he had been able to get no expression; and, in the temporary arrangement he was thus put under the necessity of making, he included a set of provisions relative to the archives, which was the first step towards an organized system for their classification and use. Among the branches or sections then formed were those of Royal Cédulas, Correspondence of the Viceroys, etc.

The nucleus of the History Section is a compilation made in the year 1792, which is likewise due to Revillagigedo, though the initiative in this instance came from Spain. In 1780 the Spanish Government projected a general history of its possessions in the Indies to be written at Madrid; and with this in view, it asked Viceroy Don Martín de Mayorga for the Veytia manuscripts and the papers of the Cavalier Boturini, and all documents of the same kind that might be found in the library or archives of the University or any other corporation or community, or individual, in Mexico. In 1783 the manuscripts of Veytia, the gift of his widow, Doña Josefa de Arostegui, were sent to Spain, and the receipt of them was acknowledged in 1784. With the acknowledgment came an order to send also the documents mentioned as existing in Mexico by Clavigero in his 'Storia del Antico Messico,' published in 1780. In 1788 Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flores sent to Spain, in obedience to the previous order, a box of papers, which, according to the statement of Minister Porlier, was received there, and contained 367 folios in eleven books, the last incomplete, relative to the history of Texas; some fragments of the abridged history of the Provincias Internas by Tello; various separate papers of the Boturini collection, etc. Finally, in obedience to a royal order, dated February 21, 1790, there was compiled a series of copies of documents relative to New Spain, amounting to thirty-two volumes. This compilation was sent to Spain in 1792, along with a letter, the receipt of which at Aranjuez was acknowledged in 1798. Besides the copy of the series sent to Spain, one was kept in Mexico, and some Mexican bibliophiles say



that another copy was given to the Franciscans. So much on the authority of Señor Rubio.

The series left in Mexico is still there, and it is evidently a copy of this that Mr. Bancroft calls the "Archivo General." How he came to give it this clearly inapplicable title is difficult to explain. On the title-page of volume I. of the copy which is now included in the "Archivo General" of Mexico, the series is called, "Colección de Memorias de Nueva España." On the next page, with which begins a detailed introduction to the whole series, it is spoken of as "Memorias para la Historia de la América septentrional." These are, I think, the only variations of the title. But whether Mr. Bancroft can justify himself in the premises or not, the student should not be led to confuse this fragment of the Archivo General with the whole collection, containing material enough to make seventy thousand volumes.

If, however, the "Colección de Memorias de Nueva España" is but a very small part of the Archivo General, it is unquestionably a most valuable part. More or less of the material from which the copies were taken still exists in the original; but how much of it, and where it is to be found, are questions not to be answered offhand. It is to be feared that many of the documents of the collection can now be had in no more authentic form than that which the copyist has given them in its pages. This, in fact, is what constitutes their value to the historian. But the copying does not seem to have been careful. The introduction claims that it was done with substantial faithfulness, but the comparisons which I have been able to make do not bear out the statement. On the contrary, it appears to be far from exact. During the past summer Miss Lillia M. Casis, Professor of Spanish in the University of Texas, and I copied carefully a number of the documents in the "Memorias," among them being the 'Breve Compendio' of Antonio Bonilla. By a fortunate chance I have been able to compare with the copy made by Miss Casis another which belongs to the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, and which was made, not from the example in the "Memorias," but from its original, or possibly a better. The copy in possession of the College was bought from Bernard Quaritch in 1881, and previously belonged to the Ramirez collection. The comparison shows differences so numerous and considerable that it seems useless to give examples. The abbreviations and the pointing of the two are very unlike. There are variations by the dozen on every page. In the copy made by Miss Casis, as compared with that belonging to the college, words are often changed and omitted, and sometimes whole series of them disappear. These larger omissions are probably lines of the original manuscript. The changes frequently impair the intelligibility of the document. In rare instances Miss Casis's copy shows a slight improvement over that of the College by correcting manifest slips of the pen, but this is very seldom. Hers, it should be said, was verified with great care; and the defects that appear in it are really those of the copy in the "Memorias" from which it was made.

The introduction to the "Colección" divides the documents composing it into two classes. The first class, filling the first eleven volumes, consists of those asked for by name in the royal order of February 21, 1790, together with the "Chronicles of Michoacan,"

which are contained in the last five volumes of the eleven. The second class, filling the other twenty-one volumes, consists of documents selected in obedience to a general provision in the same order, for the copying and transmission of the manuscripts and documents that should be found serviceable to illustrate the antiquities, geography, and history, civil, ecclesiastical, and natural, of America.

The list asked for in the royal order included sixteen titles, as follows: (1) Los Documentos del Museo de Boturini; (2) Las Relaciones de Ixtlilxochitl; (3) El Informe del Ilustrísimo Sr. D. Juan de Palafox al Conde de Salvatierra; (4) El Memorial de Don Carlos Ciguenza y Gongora; (5) El Impreso de Ciguenza que es el Teatro de Virtudes Políticas; (6) El Librito de la Vida y Muerte de los Niños Tlaxcaltecas; (7) El MS. Mexicano sobre la Historia de Tlaxcala; (8) La Conquista del Reyno de la Nueva Galicia; (9) Las Relaciones del Nuevo Mexico del Padre Fray Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron; (10) La Carta del Padre Fr. Silvestre Velez Escalante y el Cuaderno de la Restauracion del Nuevo Mexico; (11) El Ynforme del Padre Fr. Alonso de Posadas sobre las Tierras del Nuevo Mexico; (12) El Calendario Yndiano; (13) Los Cantares de Nezahualcoyotzin; (14) El fin de la Historia de Texas; (15) El Viage de Yndios y Diario del Nuevo Mexico; (16) El fin de la Historia de los Pobladores de esta America septentrional, escrita por Don Mariano Veytia. The first six volumes of the "Colección" include all these documents except Nos. 7, 14, and 16.

As to the second class of documents, which fill the remaining twenty-one volumes of the "Colección," they are distributed as follows: Vol. 12, Cronica Mexicana; (13) Historia Chichimeca; (14) Memorias de Mexico; (15) Memorias para la Historia de Sinaloa; (16 and 17) Materiales para la Historia de Sonora; (18) Cartas para ilustrar la Historia de Sinaloa y Sonora; (19 and 20) Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica, y Civil de la Nueva Vizcaya; (21) Establecimiento, y Progresos de las Misiones de la antigua California; (22 and 23) Noticias de la Nueva California; (24) Diario de Derroteros Apostolicos y Militares; (25 and 26) Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil del Nuevo Mexico; (27 and 28) Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas; (29) Monumentos Historicos de Coahuila, y Seno Mexicano; (30) Tampico, Rio Verde, Nuevo Reyno de Leon; (31) Noticias de Varias Ciudades; (32) Memorias piadosas de la Nacion Yndiana. Except for the necessary disregard of one or two merely formal variations in shaping each title marked by a double number from its pair of practically identical constituents, this list is copied with literal exactness, and it will serve to give an idea of the character of the series. The enumeration may be wearisome to the casual reader; but the student who appreciates the importance of Spanish-American history will follow it with more care and patience. Volumes 27 and 28 are of special interest as including the sources of the early history of Texas. Volume 27 contains forty-one copies of documents, mainly letters, reports, and *dictámenes fiscales*, covering—except as stated below—the period 1689-1722. No. 1, however, is a *résumé* of the history of Texas up to the date of the man-

uscript, which is 1772. It bears the title 'Breve compendio de los sucesos de Texas por el Señor Bonilla, . . . 1772.' Nos. 40 and 41 are dated respectively 1767 and 1754, and belong, in chronological order, rather to Volume 28 than to 27. Volume 28 contains thirty-seven copies of documents of the same general description as those in 27, but ranging in date from 1722 to 1779.

Bancroft says ('North Mexican States and Texas,' I., 631) that these documents were "consulted and closely followed" by Padre Juan Agustin Morfi in writing his 'Memorias para la Historia de Texas,' "the standard authority for Texan history down to this date [1783, when Morfi died], though never published." The only copy of this work in America of which I have any definite information is that to which Bancroft refers as belonging to his collection, and which he says ('North Mexican States and Texas,' I., 631, note) was made "from the original in the archives of the convent in Mexico" in 1792. Shea refers to the 'Memorias,' but I have not been able to locate the copy he used. It seems, however, that the incomplete work relative to Texas, containing three hundred and sixty-seven folios in eleven books, which was sent to Spain in 1788, was the 'Memorias' of Morfi; for No. 14 of the pieces asked for by name in the royal order of 1790 was 'El fin de la Historia de Texas,' which was described as "del R. P. Fr. Juan Agustin de Morfi."

Some of the documents included in Volumes 2 and 3 of the 'Memorias para la Historia de la América Septentrional' have been printed (see Bancroft's 'Arizona and New Mexico,' 21) in a collection entitled, "Documentos para la Historia de Mexico," published in Mexico, 1853-'57, in four series, aggregating twenty volumes. This seems to be the same collection that is described by Winsor ('Narrative and Critical History of America,' II., 398), as published "from 1852 to 1857" and "reckoned variously in nineteen or twenty-one volumes." The 'Relación' of Zárate-Salmerón was translated in the *Land of Sunshine*, November, 1899-February, 1900, and the 'Carta' of Escalante in the same magazine, March-April, 1900.

Thus it appears that the series of thirty-two volumes miscalled by Bancroft the "Archivo General de Mexico" is only the original nucleus of the History Division of the Archivo General. Much important matter has been added to this division since 1792, and the number of volumes contained therein now runs to between three and four hundred. Some of the later additions would doubtless prove more attractive to most students of American history than the original thirty-two, but the description can be carried no further here. As to the whole collection, or the Archivo General proper, the writer's purpose from the beginning has been not to make a complete enumeration of its branches, but rather to give some idea of its actual nature and extent.

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

#### THE AMHERST ECLIPSE EXPEDITION— I.

OFF SOKOTRA, April 3, 1901.

In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened to the world, a supposable photograph of the attendant ceremonies being still on sale at Port Saïd, wherein the figure of M. de Lesseps stands conspicuous in the foreground.

Since that auspicious day the maritime history of the world has been revolutionized, 95 per cent. of all steamers trading between Europe and the East now using this great waterway. A rough estimate gives no less than half a million as the average number of persons passing through yearly. The twelve months ending in April of last year recorded 3,605 steamers as traversing the Canal, aggregating more than eight million tons. Comparatively few are American; of three hundred in January last, but two sailed under the Stars and Stripes. These were the *Buffalo*, from Gibraltar to Manila, and the *Alexander*, from Manila to Norfolk, both carrying war material. The largest steamer of her class to go through was the North German Lloyd *Grosser Kurfürst*, in November. Of 13,000 tons burden, her English cabin passengers alone numbered three hundred. In addition to those steamers actually traversing the Canal, over five hundred last year landed cargo or passengers at Port Saïd, while two or three times a week boats leave there for the Levant, Jaffa, and Beirut.

This half-way house between East and West, with its forty thousand or more inhabitants, can hardly be longer considered the international dumping-ground of refuse villany; nor can it continue to claim the proud distinction of being the wickedest town of two hemispheres. From the Mediterranean approach, after sighting the spidery lighthouse at Damietta, little is apparent except another tall column and the felucca-rigged dhows of the Arabs. The shores are so extremely low that buildings in the town first come into view, then the statue of M. de Lesseps, and the fine breakwaters, inside which a fleet of steamers of all nations may be seen, generally engaged in the very disenchanting operation of coal-ing. Port Saïd is of necessity visited by all voyagers—everybody goes ashore, if for no other reason than to escape the blackening ordeal of his ship. It cannot be said that the town offers anything very attractive in itself; a fine beach, a boulevard along the water, a main street which suggests a toy bazaar, and a seven-story building of brick and iron being all that the casual traveller notices. This "Eastern Exchange Hotel and Clubhouse," however, is the first really fine edifice erected here, except the handsome and far more picturesque headquarters of the Canal Company, surrounded by lawns and flower-beds. The hotel is the only one under English management, and here one may find late newspapers and view an endless number of manufacturers' samples and framed cards. The building cost nearly half a million dollars, and was the first hotel in Egypt lighted with electricity. The streets, wide, dusty, unpaved, are filled with a motley company. Egyptians, men and women draped in sombre black, brown Arabs, ebony Sudanese, mingle with Europeans of every color and clime, while English, French, and Arabic are heard equally.

Rates of toll for the Canal may be altered, but only after three months' notice in the capitals and principal ports of all nations most concerned. These are never to exceed ten francs a ton of capacity, or for each passenger, and have already been twice reduced. Despite that fact, the steamer carrying the Amherst Eclipse Expedition to Singapore paid 800 pounds in dues, even with this expenditure saving more than two-thirds the cost of going around the Cape,

to say nothing of time. The rules governing passing craft appear to be strict. Written information as to his ship must be handed in by each captain—her name, nationality, and draft, the port of sailing and destination, as well as his own name and that of owners and charterers and the number of passengers and crew. Naturally, nothing must be thrown overboard, especially ashes and cinders; but also nothing is to be picked up, notice of any article lost overboard being left at the nearest station. No guns shall be fired, and no steam whistles blown except in cases of extreme danger. We are rather grossly reminded that burial in the Canal banks is strictly forbidden. All sailing vessels above fifty tons must be towed; above one hundred tons must also take a pilot, and no sailing craft may navigate at night. While pilots are compulsory, the entire responsibility still rests with the captain. If local pilots know the Canal better than a stranger, it is argued that the captains appreciate more thoroughly the peculiarities and steering capabilities of their own ships. Pilotage dues are only \$5; but, at night, rates are doubled. If a collision appears unavoidable, all ships are instructed to run aground to avoid it, the sandy and yielding nature of shallows near the banks offering the less of two evils. But no other ship is permitted to help off a grounded one. Each vessel, on arrival at either end of the Canal, must be entered at the Transit Office, and is then supplied with an extra rudder, for more instantaneous control, and at night each must also carry, on its bow, an arc light of sufficient power to show the channel for 1,200 metres ahead, and, when "split," to be capable of illuminating around the vessel an area not less than 200 metres in diameter.

All preliminaries being duly adjusted, we started through as a brilliant Egyptian sunset was burning in the west, and a crescent moon looked down through skies of wonderful clearness upon the varied scene. Any town with lights and water may be beautiful at night, and, as we slowly moved away from the anchorage, even Port Saïd rose to dignity and loveliness, its lamps reflecting long, wavering lines in the still harbor. Eighty-seven miles lay before us, at a speed not to exceed five and a half knots. Sixty-six are actual Canal, while twenty-one miles of the navigation run through Lake Timsah and the Great and Little Bitter Lakes. The fact of the route passing naturally through these small bodies of water did not, to any great degree, lessen the labor of dredging. Only in Great Bitter Lake was there sufficient depth for ocean steamers without artificial excavation, and that for a distance of but eight miles. Here steamers are allowed to use their normal speed and may pass without stopping.

On its surface the Canal is generally 320 feet wide; in three places, where the banks are high, aggregating eighteen miles all together, it is reduced to 195 feet. Its floor measures 72 feet, and the company engage to keep this width dredged to a depth of 26 feet. While the soil is chiefly of sand, there is a little rock, soft lime or sandstone near el-Gisar, sandstone also being encountered beyond Tusun. At Serapeum a few yards of hard gypsum was found.

A fine plan for giving safety to all ships in transit is in operation, much resembling the well-known "block system." The Company control the departure and entrance of

all ships, the order of precedence being wholly in their hands, by which not only security, but the speed of mails is insured. No ship may demand immediate passage for any reason, but preference is given to regular mail steamers under Government control. These carry a blue signal, with P cut out in blank, and a white light at night. The Canal is blocked out in divisions, and at the head office in Ismailia a dummy model shows the exact moving position of everything afloat. No vessel may proceed until the way is clear, and a complete system of telegraphic signals insures this condition. Along the banks are small stations, twelve between Port Saïd and Suez, each furnished with a high masthead, from which red and yellow balls by day and colored lights by night announce to each vessel whether to proceed through the next division, or to "tie up" and wait for one to go by from the opposite direction. Ships going in the same direction are not allowed to pass one another. Every five or six miles there is a short widening, called locally a "gare," where vessels make fast. The expression "to gare" is also used.

For a short distance from Port Saïd the Egyptian side shows a narrow plantation of palms and low-growing shrubs, from the depths of which young frogs make insistent music, a cricket or two adding shrill soprano. Beyond the shrubbery, the high moon lighted the shallow Lake Mensaleh into a wondrous sheet of silver, growing wider until no land could be discerned on its farther side. After nine miles it retreats from the Canal, leaving a level desert. The eastern bank as well is a low, sandy plain from which evaporating shallow ponds have left a white sediment of crusted salt all over the verdureless country. As far as el-Kantara the low land continues. With a "high Nile" the west side is often overflowed, by which the Canal banks are really benefited; the mud deposit, thick and black, strengthening them so that no openings have been forced. At el-Kantara the road comes in from Cairo to Jerusalem, less in use now than before steamers went to Jaffa.

Despite the level country on either side, the evening was full of beauty and interest. The marvellous African firmament seemed to disclose more stars than one knew before; a gentle wave followed our slow progress, to break in miniature surf now and then on the sandy banks, and our brilliant arc light, sometimes turned from side to side, cast a theatrical gleam ahead. On the eastern bank distances are marked in miles, on the western in kilometres; and buoys, white on the east, red on the west, mark the deep-water channel. Buoy lamps in the lakes are kept alight day and night, supplied automatically with oil for three months. Before proceeding very far, signals (two red lights above a yellow) informed us that it was our turn to wait the passing of some steamer from Suez. Immediately our speed was slackened, all movement ceasing as we approached the mooring posts. A small boat must always be in readiness for use with each steamer; and, manned by two or three agile Arabs, a dark object shot out from our side, while shadowy forms jumped ashore, making fast, by bow and stern hawsers, to the deeply embedded bollards on the western bank. At once all our lights were extinguished, the signal that we were fast, and the approaching steamer drew near with



much majesty, her search-light shedding a brilliant glory forward as she silently glided on. Her passengers could make little of us, I fancy, as, according to strict regulations, no lights must be shown by the waiting craft; but the passing steamer, a French mail, was herself gay with lights and people, a pretty spectacle, near and picturesque. Another followed while we still lay quiet. The welcome signal to proceed, a red light above a yellow, finally flashed forth for us from the station, the Arabs deftly uncoiled hawsers, cast off, and, jumping into their little boat, were alongside and aboard in an instant, our lights once more awoke, and we proceeded on our quiet way.

Ismaïlia was reached early in the morning, little but its forest of dhow masts appearing. Near the bank a whole native family seemed to be keeping house in a small rowboat. A man, two women, and a child, evidently recently aroused from their slumbers, had lighted a fire in their tiny craft, over which their breakfast was cheerfully cooking. The pink of sunrise was still flushing the sky, and a Moslem here and there prostrated himself toward the east. In pale-green perspective the narrow waterway lay between its yellow desert banks, lost astern in early-morning haze, but leading forward into a mysterious, shimmering landscape of sunny sand, where faint pictures, drawn in vaporous tints, suggested distant mountains bare and rugged, but softened to mirage effects by the luminous lambent atmosphere. On we crept, along our silent, stealthy way, while steamers now and then "tied up" for us, dredgers on their huge, unwieldy machines glanced up uncuriously, and occasional stations, with small irrigated gardens and wide verandas, shaded by palms and brilliantly blossoming trees, made oases of coolness and comfort in that dry land of perpetual sunshine. Farther out on the desert were occasional ruins; and a tiny train made noiseless if deliberate progress toward Suez.

No perceptible tide or current vexes the Bitter Lakes, the height of their water remaining unvaried. During the winter a current runs northward in the Canal, between the lakes and Port Saïd, and opposite in summer, which perhaps depends on changes of height in the Mediterranean. Little evidence has been found to show that the rising of the Nile affects this current in the Maritime Canal, although its fluctuations coincide in seasons. But there is communication with Mensaleh Lake, for, when this is filled by the Nile, the water of the Canal also becomes fresher as far as el-Kantara, the connection taking the form of fresh-water springs at the Canal bottom, which sometimes make upheavals of two or three feet. In April, when Mensaleh is low, the Canal, as indeed is the case always with the Bitter Lakes, becomes much saltier than ordinary sea water.

Emerging from the Canal and rounding a point where the line of dry trees at Port Tewfik tells pitiful tales of heat and drought, anchor was cast in the beautiful bay. Along the curve of the shore lay white Suez, aglow in noonday sunshine, a long line of green palms at one side. Armies of white gulls sailed serenely through the still, warm air, occasionally descending *en masse* to the pale-green water, there to float serenely in a little fleet, rising and falling on the gentle waves. Back of both towns, and far to the east, the yellow desert lay blindingly asleep in the sun, stretches of endless sand, great,

masterful, mysterious, the palms at "Moses' well" rising in shadowy plumes against distant Arabian mountains. West of Suez the gleaming sand crept upward from the plains of Mohaggiara around the bases of the majestic Ataka range, suddenly giving place to their stupendous rock cliffs and precipices. Not one green or growing thing softens their harsh boldness, but the atmosphere takes them in hand, painting elusive tints on foreground and further distance, spreading a pearly opalescence with suggestions of red flame at the heart of things, finally melting away into the far line of open sea horizon.

From the Straits of Jubal at the southern end of the Gulf of Suez, Mount Sinai and Mount Horeb may be seen, conspicuous peaks in the chain Jebel Musá. Through the Red Sea, that hot highway of nations, from which the keels and commerce of the world are never absent, past the port of Mecca, where twenty thousand and more pilgrims land yearly in their devout journey, past Mocha and its traditions of coffee, and Zerkur, largest island of the Sea, through the famous Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, leaving Aden shimmering in dry heat, and Cape Guardafui looming astern, we are to-day skirting Sokotra, that strange island under British control, about which so little is known. Fine aloes grow wild, four thousand or more Arabs inhabit its valleys, and, despite several wrecks on its eastern point, no lighthouse warns of its proximity—dangerous during the southwest monsoon. In 1896 Mr. Theodore Bent induced a steamer bound for Bombay to land him there as a favor, with Mrs. Bent and a friend, and he spent some months exploring and hunting. An article descriptive of those experiences, and of the flora and fauna, the natives and mountain-peaks, is perhaps the only one ever written of an island passed yearly by countless steamers. The method of return to more frequented regions was problematic, but ultimately he reached Aden in the dhow of the local Sultan, at an exorbitant rate of passage; that potentate having ordered all other dhows to refuse him transit that there might be no competition with royalty.

And now the placid Indian Ocean, with its gentle remnant of northeast monsoon, its exquisite climate, and enchanting moonlight nights, beckons us onward to the Far Orient.

MABEL LOOMIS TODD.

## Notes.

'The Francis Letters,' edited by C. F. Keary, will be published speedily by E. P. Dutton & Co. It is a contribution to the Junius controversy. The same firm are issuing 'The Life and Letters of Gilbert White of Selborne,' edited by Holt White, and 'The Plea of Pan,' by Henry W. Nevins.

'The Cities of Northern Italy,' by G. C. Williamson, in continuation of the late Grant Allen's series of Historical Guides, is on the eve of publication by A. Wessels Co.

A work on 'Southern Wild Flowers and Trees,' by Miss Alice Lounsberry and Mrs. Ellis Rowan, profusely illustrated in color, wash and line, and 'Our Ferns in their Haunts,' by Willard Nelson Clute, are shortly forthcoming from Frederick A. Stokes Co.

Dodd, Mead & Co. invite subscriptions to a 'History of New York Theatres,' by Col.

T. Allston Brown, in two volumes, the edition limited to about 300 copies.

Dr. Arthur H. Smith's 'The Convulsion in China at the End of the Century' is shortly to be published by the Fleming H. Revell Co.

In preparation at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, are 'Elizabethan Critical Essays (1570-1603),' edited by G. Gregory Smith, M.A.; 'English Etymologies,' by Dr. W. W. Skeat; 'Notes on the "Divina Commedia" of Dante,' by H. F. Tozer, M.A.; Bishop Berkeley's Works, including the posthumous, in four volumes, edited by A. C. Fraser, D.C.L.; 'The Ethics of Spinoza,' by H. H. Joachim, M.A.; 'British Colonies and Protectorates,' by the late Sir Henry Jenkins, K.C.B.; 'Studies in History and Jurisprudence,' by the Right Hon. James Bryce; in the Oxford Musical Series, 'The Seventeenth Century,' by Sir Hubert H. Parry, and 'The Polyphonic Period of Music,' by H. E. Woolridge, M.A.; and, in Arber's British Anthologies, the concluding volumes (first and tenth respectively), 'The Dunbar Anthology,' 'The Cowper Anthology.'

Dr. John Coleman Adams's 'Nature Studies in Berkshire' (Putnam's) has pleased some readers, no doubt, by its gentle moralizing, but all by Mr. Arthur Scott's admirable photographs from the widely famous scenery of western Massachusetts. It now reappears on our table in a second "popular" edition, which is still fairly luxurious. The typography is generous and the binding in a tasteful green.

Mr. Abram E. Brown's 'Faneuil Hall and Faneuil Hall Market; or, Peter Faneuil and his Gift' (Boston: Lee & Shepard) is a popular account in particular of the Faneuil family of New Rochelle and Boston, with Peter himself for the leading figure. Pardonable imaginings agreeably clothe the dry bones of fact. A just idea of the colonial trade of the pre-Revolutionary era is conveyed from Faneuil's ledgers and letter-books, and in other ways the Boston of his day is rehabilitated. The Huguenot founder of the hall that was to be known as the Cradle of Liberty is shown to have been, like so many contemporary merchants, both a slave-owner and a slave-trader; a smuggler on occasion. But the market was his chief aim in the public benefaction, and more stress is properly laid upon it and the neighboring Quincy Market. One or two instances are given of free speech suppressed by mobs in this people's hall, but they might easily have been multiplied, or something might have been said of official partiality in granting the use of it. The relation of a famous meeting at which Otis and Sprague figured in denunciation of the abolitionists, to the subsequent Boston mob of "gentlemen of property and standing" in October, 1835, deserved a paragraph. The biographic interest, however, predominates with Mr. Brown.

There is a grain of truth in the dramatic contrast between the beginning and ending of some lives. It is at its poorest in such books as 'The Canal-boy Who Became President,' and at its highest in such lives as David Livingstone's, the Scottish cotton-factory hand who now sleeps with the greatest English dead in Westminster Abbey. Africa will keep his memory unsleepingly, whatever may come or go. Memoirs of him and now the little book by Mr. T. B. MacLachlan in the "Famous Scots Series" (Charles Scribner's Sons) will do something among us—who

forget so soon and follow wandering fires so lightly—to hold us to the old standards of sane and pure duty. Mr. MacLachlan's is an unambitious little sketch, but simply and gracefully done.

'Practical Golf,' by Walter J. Travis, amateur champion of the United States (Harper & Brothers), is a reprint of a series of articles that have been appearing from time to time in *Golf*. Dedicated to all lovers of the game, the book is calculated to fulfil its intention of "diffusing knowledge of the why and wherefore of golf, in order to the better assist in working a general improvement in play." Mr. Travis, than whom there is no higher authority on the finer points of the game, presents his subject in such a clear and forcible way as to make the study of it profitable. But the book is also entertaining.

An attractive little book, devoted to carnations and picotees, by H. W. Weguelin, F.R.H.S., appears from the press of George Newnes (New York: M. S. Mansfield & Co.). The origin of these charming flowers is briefly sketched. The chapters on propagation and culture will answer many questions occurring to the novice in carnation-growing. One of the most interesting parts of the book deals with the use and treatment of these plants in different parts of the British Isles. A discussion of the different varieties and the methods of dressing and exhibiting them appeals more directly to the professional gardener. Although written for British readers, this volume offers many valuable suggestions to American flower-lovers, especially in regard to the growing of carnations in gardens. We might with pleasure and profit imitate our cousins in making more use out of doors of the hardy varieties.

The well-known authority on fungi, Mr. George Massee of the Royal Herbarium of Kew, is the author of a text-book on plant diseases due to cryptogamic parasites (London: Duckworth; New York: Macmillan). The economic importance of the diseases now recognized as belonging to this category is becoming more fully appreciated, thanks chiefly to the efforts of Government investigators and workers in the State experimental stations in this country. The volume at hand presents the most essential information concerning a large number of plant diseases, and indicates the best means of arresting them. It is written for the man who deals in plants in a practical way, and is, therefore, concise, and not too technical in style. The illustrations, of which there are nearly one hundred, add to the value of the descriptive matter.

The main purpose of Professor Delssmann of Heidelberg, in his 'Bible Studies,' now appearing in an English translation (Charles Scribner's Sons), is to show, by means of Greek papyri recently recovered in Egypt and elsewhere, that Biblical Greek is not an isolated dialect. The contemporary documents, especially the epistolary correspondence, abound in terms long regarded as distinctively "Hellenistic" rather than "later Hellenic." The effect of such researches upon lexical questions arising in the interpretation of the Septuagint and New Testament is obvious and important.

That excellent little series of brochures, "Der alte Orient," is being reproduced in English by Mr. David Nutt, London. Wiedemann's 'Realms of the Egyptian Dead' is the first number to appear. The translation

is by Miss Jane Hutchison, and seems to be faithful, and is certainly readable. As a handy introduction to Egyptian eschatology, the little pamphlet can be highly commended. Professor Wiedemann is an Egyptologist of the first rank; he has made a special study of Egyptian religion, and of it "what he doesn't know isn't knowledge." The amazing thing, in view of popular books, is, how little such a man can claim to know.

For the tenth issue in the series of Yale Studies in English, 'The Earliest Lives of Dante' (Henry Holt & Co.), Mr. James Robinson Smith has retranslated the complementary biographies by Boccaccio and Brunetto Aretino, with a fragment from Filippo Villani. His version is fluent and agreeable, but one could wish that Boccaccio's text could have been accompanied by parallel passages from his unfinished Commentary on the 'Divine Comedy,' as regards the poet's appearance, his name (the allusion needing explanation), his reasons for writing in the vernacular, and the story of the loss and discovery of the first seven cantos of the poem. They would be worth the pains of a second edition, if such studies ever go beyond the first, and may be found conveniently to hand in O. Zenatti's 'G. Boccaccio; Dal Commento sopra la Commedia di Dante' (Rome: Società Editrice Dante Alighieri).

Henning's German translation of 'The 1001 Nights' has now been completed by the addition of a twenty-third and twenty-fourth *Doppel-Bändchen*, being the sixth and seventh of the *Nachtrag*. These are translated from Burton, and contain the remainder of the stories in the Wortley-Montague text, with some omissions. Last comes an appendix of about forty pages on the history of the 'Nights,' which is a careful compilation pure and simple. Herr Henning is to be congratulated on the conclusion of his long and conscientious labor; our only regrets are that the *Nachtrag* was not extended further, and that no general index has been added.

The *Geographical Journal* for May contains a description of the northwest frontier of India, by Col. Sir T. Holdich, of which the principal note is the wonderful variety of climate, scenery, and peoples. Contrasting the delightful landscapes of the north with the arid wastes of Baluchistan, he adds that into its inner recesses but few Europeans have ever really penetrated, and there must exist in it thousands of peoples of different races who have never seen a white face and never heard an English word spoken. The strength and vitality of Islam, its fanaticism and orthodoxy, he says, are to be found in these frontier peoples. With them the Mulla is a moving political force, while with the Mohammedans of the plains he is of little account. The paper on the topography of South Victoria Land, by L. Bernacchi of the Newnes Expedition, is a record of observations having for one object the solving of the enigma whether, within the Antarctic circle, "the land takes the form of a vast continent, or an archipelago of islands smothered under an overload of frozen snow which conceals their insularity, or islands whose shores are washed by the ocean." Another object was an examination of the phenomena connected with the great ice-barrier, which Sir Joseph Hooker says "presents the most remarkable unsolved glacial problem in the world."

Mr. Bernacchi is inclined to believe that it is "nothing more than a huge tongue of ice flowing eastwards into the ocean for a distance of perhaps 500 miles, and is possibly not more than 50 miles in width." Other articles are upon a survey of the Sobat region of the upper Nile basin by Major Austin, and upon the sixth-century mosaic map of Madaba, "the earliest piece of Christian cartography, and one of the oldest geographical plans in the world outside the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments." It was originally about 49 by 20 feet in size, and is mainly concerned with the country between Nablûs and the Nile.

The scientific results of the voyage of the Norwegian fishing steamer *Michael Sars*, given in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, number four, relate particularly to the hydrography of the northern coasts of Norway and Iceland and the banks about Jan Mayen, and the distribution of some of the predominant forms of plankton in the same ocean regions in July-September, 1900. Accompanying maps show the course of the vessel and the distribution of the three forms of ceratium—*tripos*, *longipes*, and *arcticum*. Other articles are a review of work done in the seventy-five scientific balloon ascensions made in Germany in the years 1888-'99, and late information of the expeditions of Koslow in the region of the Chinese Altai and of Professor Fischer in Morocco.

Of Northampton, Mass., Mr. C. A. Cutter, Librarian of the Forbes Library, says, in his sixth annual report, just issued, no city in the world can equal, in quantity or quality, the circulation of the town's three public libraries. As for quality, the average use of fiction in public libraries is 75 per cent.; here it is but 51.5 per cent. The average American circulation, estimated from 93 cities and towns, is 1.6 volumes per head. In the 37 Massachusetts cities it is 2.7 volumes per head. The figure for Northampton's home circulation is 7.22 volumes per head. "And yet there are also in the city a hospital library (for the patients), a law library, a college library, two private-school libraries, and two flourishing book clubs." What are proper inferences regarding the intellectual and moral rank of the population of this favored town?

The Bureau of Statistics of New Jersey has put forth an historical sketch, from the pen of its chief, Mr. William Stainsby, of the establishment and growth of 'The Jewish Colonies of South Jersey,' illustrated photographically (Camden, N. J.). The experiments described at length are the settlements at Alliance, Rosenhayn, Woodbine, most flourishing of all, and Carmel. Agriculture is carried on in all, combined, more or less extensively, with manufactures, yet demonstrating by itself that some Jews at least are capable of farming profitably and contentedly. Mr. Stainsby enumerates other attempts, in the same State, which failed, without exception owing to the fact of speculators having been the promoters.

The first important attempt on the part of Scandinavians at home to aid the efforts of their countrymen in the United States to preserve Scandinavian culture, has been announced. The *Chicago Tribune* of May 15 contains an address, signed by about fifty leading Swedish officials, bishops, professors, and authors, including the rector of the University of Upsala, the Archbishop of Upsala, Prof. Adolf Noreen, Verner von Hei-



denstam, and Selma Lagerlöf, soliciting subscriptions from Swedes in Sweden for a fund of \$30,000 for the establishment of a professorship in some branch of natural history at the Augustana College at Rock Island, Ill. The subject of natural history was chosen because to foreigners Swedish science is represented by Linnæus and Berzelius. The address opens with a cordial recognition of the devotion to Swedish culture shown by Swedish Americans, and of the importance of encouraging this feeling by indicating in some substantial way that it is appreciated by their kinsmen across the sea. The only conditions imposed upon the acceptance of this fund, if it be raised, are that the Swedish language shall always remain the medium of instruction at the college, and that a fund of \$60,000 be raised in this country for the establishment of two additional professorships, the subjects suggested being church history and the Scandinavian languages and literatures, with special reference to Swedish.

The highest type of British journalism has suffered a severe loss by the sudden death of Mr. William Clarke, while on a tour in Herzegovina in company with his friend, Mr. J. A. Hobson. Not much of his work appeared over his own name, for he was the least obtrusive of men—no mention of him will be found in 'Who's Who'—but, in spite of chronic and painful ill-health, he had anonymously exercised a healthy and powerful influence for many years. At the time when the *Daily Chronicle* was under the direction of Mr. A. E. Fletcher, it was from Mr. Clarke's pen that came many of those brilliant editorials which so effectively applied the highest ethical principles to political and social life. Later, he had done much work of equal quality for the *Spectator*, which says of him in an obituary paragraph that "he had, we verily believe, read and assimilated every intellectual book in three languages, and might, had he been spared, have given the world some work not of ephemeral value." He had been much depressed by the present triumph of that imperialistic temper of which he was always a keen and uncompromising critic; and a few months ago contributed to the *Contemporary Review* a remarkable forecast of the future of England as the pleasure-ground of other nations, instead of being any longer a force in international affairs.

—A map of the famine area and eight conventional (though original) photographs of decent misery add the adornment customary in famine descriptions to Mr. Vaughan Nash's little volume entitled 'The Great Famine and its Causes' (Longmans, Green & Co.). The book itself is a collection of letters originally published in the *Manchester Guardian*. The descriptions are vivid; the author had exceptional opportunities to see the whole area of famine. He is an alert observer and has some unpalatable views as to the economic situation. The facts he records are real, and his conclusions are generally sound. "In spite of the famine, there is grain enough and to spare in India," is a paradox not presented for the first time by Mr. Nash, but it needs some repetition to make people believe it. Equally true and trite is the observation that the native *ryot* is being ousted out of his farm by the usurer. The Government's part in this was primarily not greed, as the good Hindus think, but indiscretion. Into the hands of a child-minded adult was put a man's privi-

lege. The silly peasant, pressed for money (this time the Government was simply just), sold out his heritage, hitherto inalienable, and the usurer at present is the great landholder, the lord of India. The best the Government can do now, since killing the usurers is not possible, is to restrict land alienation, establish usury laws, lower taxes, and have them paid in kind. This last will probably be thought as impracticable as killing the usurers, especially as its implication should be that when the *ryot* has no crop, he need not pay a tax for it. At present he pays in cash (for which he is at the mercy of the banker, that is, usurer), and this often represents the modest tax (of one-third of the produce of his farm) upon a non-existent crop; whence comes borrowing from the kind usurer, and thence comes starvation. Of course, the obvious objection is that a revenue which sinks or rises according to crops is not so useful as a support of military operations in Africa as one that is kept at the top level by being exacted whether the crop which it is supposed to represent is existent or non-existent. The Government, however, is very benevolent and has established relief-works for the impoverished peasants, poulticing gently the skinned victim of the practical politician whose rule of thumb is called "Indian polity." Mr. Nash's book, which brings some of these facts into ghastly relief, will probably have no more effect than have had the liberal views of other reformers; but that is the fault of the Government. When the voice of the legislator is heard among the shouts of the bravos, and the Forward Movement on the frontier has become an Upward Movement in India itself—but there is no good in wasting time in vain speculation. Meantime, Mr. Nash's book may interest the thoughtful, as it will doubtless irritate those patriots who think that the best use of a Hindu is to starve him for their glory.

—'German Bookplates,' by Karl Emich, Count zu Leiningen-Westerburg, is the latest of Messrs. George Bell & Sons' admirable "ex-Libris series." More than four hundred reproductions of German plates—most of them drawn from the author's private collection—illustrate the work. The early phases of this minor art are the most interesting. The beautiful woodcut examples of the sixteenth century—among them unique colored examples—by Dürer and his followers, have never been surpassed in appropriateness to the printed page, nor, perhaps, in decorative beauty. Their like is not found in England until the pre-Raphaelite designers of our own time restudied, under Ruskin's guidance, early German and Italian woodcuts. By way of offset, the interesting white-line plates in the Bewick style, perhaps the most original in the English series, are quite wanting here, and the rococo plates of about the same period are no wise comparable to French work of the same character. Modern designs occupy a modest space in the volume, and their merit, as here represented, is correspondingly slight. One notes, as compared with other volumes of the series, an excess of heraldic designs, and a lack of bookplates of famous owners. Such criticism applies, however, only to the material. The author's part is excellently done. Notes on the differences between German and English heraldry will be useful to sticklers for form in these matters, and the lists, indexes, and biblio-

graphical notes are apparently compiled with German thoroughness. The Macmillans are the American publishers.

—We have received the second part of Edmond Pottier's 'Album des Vases Antiques du Louvre' (Paris: Hachette & Cie.). As those who have seen the first part know, these albums are intended by the author as a supplement, or more correctly as a complement, of the valuable catalogue of the collection which he is publishing. Indeed, it is in some respects more of a catalogue in the strict sense of the word than the catalogue itself; for whereas the latter contains a full and detailed description of the various styles and periods of Greek vase-painting, it refers to the vases in the collection only as they illustrate the points under discussion, and does not include complete descriptions of any of them. It is really a hand-book of the subject, written with especial reference to the vases in the Louvre. The album, on the other hand, contains numerous illustrations of the typical examples of each style, selected from the Louvre collection, with detailed descriptions not only of these, but of such other vases of the same style in the collection as have been published elsewhere with illustrations. Whether this is the most practical or convenient manner of dividing the material is perhaps an open question, but it is one that we need not discuss now. This part of the Album includes Rooms E-G, comprising the black-figured vases of the Ionic and Attic schools, and the early red-figured vases of the latter. As in the first part, the illustrations are half-tone reproductions of photographs taken directly from the originals. We wish we could share the author's satisfaction at the results; but the finer the drawing on the vases themselves, the more melancholy do these seem to us. In the early styles, where the object of the illustrations was to give as definite an idea as possible without colors of the shape of the vases and the character of their decorations, the album served its purpose perhaps better—because more completely—than any other work on the subject that has yet appeared; but now that it is reaching the period of the masters, the truth is once more forced upon us that a reproduction is not necessarily accurate because it is mechanical, and that the camera can distort and exaggerate just as much as the draughtsman can flatter or "improve." In the two drawings by Euphronios, for example, which form the last two plates of this part, the firm, crisp lines of the originals become utterly flat and lifeless, and our attention is caught by every break and discoloration in the surface. It is the defects, and not the beauties, which are made prominent by this process; and we hope that before the third part is brought out, some means may have been found of overcoming what we feel to be a serious drawback.

—After an interval of two years, Prof. Rhys Roberts has given to the public a second instalment of his work on the Greek critics and rhetoricians. The edition of the treatise *Ἡπεί 'Υπόμνημα* won much favorable comment, and the interest in it will doubtless be greatly increased by the high estimate put upon the inherent critical excellence of the treatise by Professor Saintsbury in the opening volume of his 'History of Criticism.' The critical work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is less known to the gen-

eral reader than the *Περὶ Ὑφους*, but the volume before us, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus' (Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan), will doubtless find a goodly circle of interested readers. Of the text of Dionysius it contains but a little over fifty pages—the two letters to Ammæus and the letter to Pompeius. This is preceded by a fifty-page introduction on Dionysius as a Literary Critic, and accompanied by a free English rendering on parallel pages. Some twenty pages of notes, a glossary of rhetorical and grammatical terms found in the three letters, and a bibliography covering all the rhetorical writings of Dionysius, complete the volume. Dionysius, we are told, "concerns himself mainly with questions of literary form and technique, whereas 'Longinus' dwells more on that moral nobleness which he thinks he discerns in all really great literature. The former has chiefly in view the art of literature, the latter its spirit." In general, Professor Roberts is not far from the Quarterly Reviewer of eighty years ago, who remarked that if Dionysius "wanted something of the exquisite taste of Longinus, he had at least an equal share of his judgment." One meets in him frequently passages characterized by the common-sense way of looking at things so prominent in the pages of Quintilian. The glossary of technical terms might profitably have been expanded by a more liberal supply of references for comparison, not only from the Greek, but from the Roman critics and rhetoricians as well. Professor Roberts expects soon to present a similar edition of the Greek treatise 'Demetrius de Elocutione,' and in the indefinite future a 'History of Greek Literary Criticism' and a critical and annotated edition of the 'Rhetoric' of Aristotle.

#### GARDINER'S COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE.

*History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660.* By Samuel R. Gardiner. Vol. III. 1654-1656. Longmans, Green & Co. 1901. Pp. xx, 513.

Mr. Gardiner continues, and will, we trust, bring to its close, his incomparable chronicle of the Protectorate. We use the word "incomparable" of set purpose, because his narrative of the events which took place from the accession of James I. to the last years of the Protectorate is unlike any other work with which we are acquainted. It is not a history in the ordinary sense of that term. It lacks some of the charms of historical narrative; it exhibits no special graces of style; it does not abound in striking portraits of persons or brilliant pictures of events; it contains few generalizations and no paradoxes. It is, in fact, an annual register; but it is an annual register composed by an author whose industry and learning have freed him from the errors of ignorance, and whose judicial fairness has delivered him from the errors of passion or prejudice. Mr. Gardiner shows us the actions of remarkable men and the transactions of a most noteworthy time in the dry light of truth. We are made to know the facts; it is for each reader to consider what are the inferences which the facts warrant.

At one conclusion a reader of Mr. Gardiner's last volume will arrive with con-

siderable confidence: the heroic legend of Cromwell created by the genius and imagination of Carlyle has been destroyed; it must pass away like the grand Napoleonic tradition because it cannot stand the dry light of historical truth. The purpose of the present article is simply to show how and why it is that Mr. Gardiner's narrative renders impossible the childlike faith preached by Carlyle in the inspired heroism and the statesmanlike sagacity of the greatest among the Puritan leaders.

That Cromwell's policy was not always heroic becomes apparent on an examination of that part of his statesmanship which was most certainly guided by religious enthusiasm. His loyalty to the Protestant cause stands above suspicion. It was to Cromwell and to the best Englishmen of his day, as it still appears to many of the best and wisest Englishmen of our own day, the cause of truth and of God. But even here, though the genuineness of Cromwell's faith is certain, its disinterestedness is not quite so clear. Here, as elsewhere, he was a typical Englishman; he saw no reason for keeping piety apart from business. He wished to strike a blow at the foes of Protestantism; he also wished to enrich England. The two objects, it seemed, might be attained by one and the same stroke of statesmanship. To plunder Spain was a method of at once lessening the resources of the Papacy and at the same time replenishing the empty treasury of the Commonwealth. In adopting this course of action Cromwell followed the Elizabethan tradition. To attack Spanish colonies had long been, in the eyes of Englishmen, the best way to serve Protestantism and to do a good stroke of business.

Sometimes, however, trade and religion did not easily go hand in hand. Cromwell's undoubted veneration for the name of Gustavus Adolphus, and his unfeigned joy at an alliance with Protestant Sweden, secured a most sincere and fervent welcome for the Swedish ambassador. When, however, it became apparent that the predominance of Sweden might be injurious to England's commercial interest in the Baltic, the Protector's policy began to waver. There was, as we understand Mr. Gardiner, no treachery. There was in Cromwell's action nothing of which a diplomatist could complain; but, then, as a rule, diplomacy does not pretend to aim at higher than worldly objects, and in this instance, as in many others, the charge which might plausibly be made against Cromwell is not that he sank below the moral standard which in his day guided ordinary politicians, but that, while he entertained genuine religious aspirations which have never influenced ordinary politicians, his conduct was, in point of disinterestedness, very much on a level with the conduct of ordinary statesmen. The combination, in short, of religious fervor with a keen eye to the main chance has a nasty look. It necessarily involves a kind of double-mindedness, and constantly leads to causes of action which an enemy will brand, not quite fairly, with the name of duplicity.

A lack of heroic enthusiasm does not, it will be said, of itself suggest a lack of statesmanlike foresight. This is true, but, unfortunately for Cromwell's reputation, the latter years of his rule, the years in which he was the almost absolute governor of the most powerful of European states, are, if we accept Mr. Gardiner's account of the facts, filled with failures in statesmanship;

and, what is of supreme importance, Cromwell's failures are closely connected with unmistakable defects in Cromwell's character. At home he wished to establish, not, indeed, what a modern Englishman means by Parliamentary Government, but a government in which a Parliament should play a great and important part; and it is one of the finest traits of Cromwell's nature that, overbearing and despotic as he often was, he clearly had no wish to destroy those liberties of England for the preservation of which the Long Parliament had engaged in war with Charles. But, though he wished to preserve English freedom, he never could really come to terms with his own Parliaments. We are far from asserting that the mistakes committed by the Parliamentary Constitutionalists were not as great as the blunders of Cromwell, or even greater. To any man who studies the Constitution embodied in the Instrument of Government the folly of the Parliamentarians in refusing to come to any arrangement with Cromwell is all but incomprehensible. One can hardly understand how men who must have dreaded a restoration should have failed to perceive that, to weaken the Protector, must, as its immediate result, produce either anarchy or despotism, and as its ultimate result lead to the return of the Stuarts. We have not a word to say for Cromwell's Parliamentary opponents. Their position is the more strange when one learns from Mr. Gardiner that the Protector was prepared to go great lengths in the way of concession, and that all he required was that he should continue to have a real control of the army, and should be provided with a revenue adequate for the maintenance of the armed forces, and that Parliament should respect "fundamentals" which were intended to secure the religious liberty of all Protestants. Still, the fact remains that Cromwell's Parliamentary policy was, in the years with which Mr. Gardiner's volume deals, a failure.

If Cromwell could not come to terms with his Parliaments, still less did he know how to conciliate the nation. He was the most successful of English generals. He had restored order; he had reconquered Ireland. He was, to use his own celebrated expression, a "constable" whose one duty was to maintain order, and, as far as might be, enforce the law. He was the one man who could ward off the danger of anarchy, on the one hand, and of insolent military despotism on the other. There are signs, as may be gathered from Mr. Gardiner's pages, that Oliver's assumption of the crown would have met with the approval of a considerable part of the nation. It assuredly was desired by the lawyers. Yet Cromwell, with all his advantages, never really gained the good-will of the people. If you ask why he failed in this, the story of the Major-Generals gives a sufficient answer.

The appointment of the Major-Generals met, no doubt, a pressing danger. It was an act of vigor: it established in effect a military dictatorship controlled by the Protector. The immediate difficulty of the moment was met, but the Protector thereby threw away his best chance of reconciling the nation to his rule. The very fact that Cromwell's military representatives were not real despots, and tried, at any rate, to act as far as possible in accordance with the law of the land, is the condemnation of his policy. It shows that he did not wish to establish a despotism, and that despotism



government was not required by the necessity of the time. But, under these circumstances, the authority wielded by the Major-Generals was an insult to every man throughout the country who cared for the preservation of England's liberties. The rule of the Major-Generals was in substance, disguise it as you might, the power of the sword opposed to the supremacy of the law. Add to this that an authority which was itself a defiance of law was used as a means for the enforcement of morality. No device was more certain to bring upon the government of the Protector more widespread and more bitter popular hatred. Easy-going persons who cared nothing about law and politics, must have been irritated past endurance when officers and martinets closed public houses, and punished, or enforced the punishment of, gamblers or cock-fighters; while men of another type who sympathized with Oliver's zeal in the reform of public manners, were disgusted when they found that zeal for religion was turned into a plea for overriding the legal rights of Englishmen. The rule of the Major-Generals in 1655 goes far to explain the Restoration in 1660.

Of Cromwell's administrative capacity no reasonable critic can entertain a doubt, yet, oddly enough, Mr. Gardiner's last volume contains an account of a military fiasco which casts grave discredit on the Protector. The attack on Hispaniola was Cromwell's own design; its perils were detected by the common sense of Lambert; it ended in a complete disaster, the character of which could not be concealed either from the Protector or from the public by the occupation of Jamaica. The cause of the failure is, Mr. Gardiner admits, to be sought, not in the misconduct of the officers, though misconduct there was, but in the conduct of Oliver himself.

"It was not, indeed," he writes, "to be expected of the Protector, overwhelmed as he was with political and administrative anxieties, that he should have applied himself . . . to the details of service . . . But, in all probability from sheer ignorance of tropical conditions, he sent forth an army to establish England's supremacy in the Indies, which, in a military sense, was no army at all. He had been told of the weakness of the Spaniards, and had a sincere conviction that he had Providence to friend. Of the war against the burning sun and the waterless roots of the hills he had no conception. It was said, probably with truth, that of the 9,000 who landed in Hispaniola there were but 1,000 old soldiers; the rest were the rejected of English regiments, or, still worse, the offscourings of West Indian Colonies, not one of whom had seen service in any shape or form. Oliver, as ever, trusted in God. For once in his life he had forgotten to keep his powder dry."

That a great general or a consummate administrator should once in his life make a blunder, is a matter which in itself hardly calls for comment; but the reverse in Hispaniola is of more importance in our estimate of Cromwell than a mere isolated blunder. The mistake is very closely connected with the weakest points in his statesmanship. A trust, which may fairly be called superstitious, in the favor of Providence, and an inveterate habit of energetic and generally masterly action which, though it often gained his immediate end, was grounded on very inadequate knowledge of the conditions with which he was called upon to deal—these defects ought to be fairly acknowledged when we consider his Irish policy. That the Cromwellian settlement

was, on the whole, a failure, will now probably be admitted even by the admirers of the Protector. On this point we are the less careful to insist because Mr. Gardiner, influenced by his generous hatred of cruelty and wrongdoing, hardly does full justice to the strong side of Cromwell's plans for the government of Ireland. He never fully recognizes that the establishment of perfect equality among all Protestants, and the Parliamentary union of Protestant Ireland and Protestant England, were ideas in advance of Cromwell's age which, under happier circumstances, might, from an English point of view at any rate, have been fruitful of good. What Mr. Gardiner does, however, make as plain as day is, that Cromwell and his associates tried to carry out a policy of excessive severity without anything like adequate knowledge of the country or of the people with whom they had to deal. The blunders they made were often elementary. They did not, for example, know, when intending to plant Ireland anew with an English population, what would be the amount of the land at the disposal of the English Government; nor, indeed, as we gather, what was the amount of land which Ireland contained.

Cromwell, in fact, was the typical representative of his party and of his countrymen. He entertained the Puritan ideals in their best and highest form, but he also shared, far more fully than his admirers are willing to admit, the Puritan superstitions. His God was the Hebrew God of battles, and a victory was therefore a sure sign of divine favor. His God was the God who hated the heathen, and he, therefore, expected that the foes of idolatrous Papists should, to use Mr. Gardiner's quaint expression, have "Providence to friend," and that, owing to the favor of Heaven, Protestant soldiers, even of an inferior type, should easily vanquish idolatrous Papists. He possessed all the energy and the imperial capacity of his countrymen, but he showed, like most Englishmen, a lack of sympathetic imagination, and, in common with the men who have founded the British Empire, he gained the respect, but failed almost invariably to conciliate the affection, of foes or of subjects. Nor is it easy, after reading Mr. Gardiner's pages, to deny that, in common, not indeed, with all, but with many of the best-known among English generals and statesmen, he relied far more on bold and resolute action than on that scientific knowledge of facts and principles which alone makes vigorous action conducive to permanently beneficial results. The paradox of Puritanism, which is nothing else than the strange combination of constant triumphs leading to ultimate failure, repeats itself in the career of by far the greatest of Puritan leaders.

#### RECENT FICTION.

*From a Swedish Homestead.* By Selma Lagerlöf. Translated by Jessie Brochner McClure, Phillips & Co.

*The Observations of Henry.* By Jerome K. Jerome. Dodd, Mead & Co.

*The Second Dandy Chater.* By Tom Gallon. Dodd, Mead & Co.

*Philip and Philippa.* By John Osborne Austin. Providence, R. I.: The Author.

*The Fanatics.* By Paul Laurence Dunbar. Dodd, Mead & Co.

*The Warners.* By Gertrude Potter Daniels. Jamieson-Higgins Co.

*The Vengeance of the Mob.* By Sam. A. Hamilton. The Abbey Press.

*Sam Lovel's Boy.* By Rowland E. Robinson. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

*Old Bowen's Legacy.* By Edwin Asa Dix. The Century Co.

*The Wizard's Knot.* By William Barry. The Century Co.

*Martin Brook.* By Morgan Bates. Harper & Brothers.

*In White and Black.* By W. W. Pinson. Press of The J. W. Burke Co.

*Lysebeth.* By H. Rider Haggard. Longmans, Green & Co.

"From a Swedish Homestead" come stories of Sweden, myths of Norway and of Italy. In all there are the Scandinavian imaginativeness, the love of children, of nature, of fairy tales. There is a northern proclivity to gruesomeness too, which supplies the shadows in these half-supernatural tales; and there is a certain alternation of clumsiness with a really artistic touch that leaves a not unfamiliar impression of heaviness on the mind. Whether this feature or the tenderness blossoming in the heart of every one of the stories will carry the day with the reader, will depend partly on his national sympathies and partly on his sense of the value of time.

"A waiter has plenty of opportunities if he only makes use of them, for if it comes to a matter of figures, I suppose there is more love-making done in a month under the electric light of the restaurant than the moon sees in a year—leastways so far as concerns what we call the civilized world." From this canny point of view Mr. Jerome has evolved five stories of pictorial events that came under the eyes of Henry the Waiter. They are slight, but ingenious, and humorous in a wholly unpretending fashion, and will better repay a half-hour's reading than some more elaborately made whimsical literature.

When Phillip Chater was unaccountably seized with a desire to personate his twin brother, he little foresaw that it would lead him into three hundred pages of tangle. But so it was, and tangle of a highly melodramatic kind, swinging from tragic to comic, from murder trials to circus caravans, from lovely girls to tattooed sailors, from stanch foster-mothers to cut-throat villains, from ancestral halls to thieves' dens. In fact, the colors are laid on with a spendthrift hand, suggesting that they were not priceless, and though, as an original culmination, lovely woman rushes into the court-room at the supreme moment, crying "That man is not Dandy Chater," we feel that the excitement has, after all, been only skin-deep.

Over 'Philip and Philippa' hangs the atmosphere of a day that we thought was dead. Miss Ferrier might have written the dialogue; the aboriginal American tourist might have sketched the European itinerary; Una might have devised the plot, barring her lion. A dash of modern flavor is introduced with almost pathetic delicacy in the sub-hero and sub-heroine, an American betrothed pair who form the relatively high light in a picture otherwise done in quarter-tones.

The 'Story of an Ohio Town during the Civil War' must needs deal with familiar phases of stress and storm. Ohio pioneers from Yankee-land, with sons who join Mor-

gan's raiders; Virginian pioneers, with sons who fight for the Union; neighbors who are friends in all but politics; sweethearts in a chaos of counter sympathies—these are the natural material of a story of the time and place. Where Mr. Dunbar has exceeded and excelled other tales of the sort, is in the striking delineation (occupying too small a corner of his canvas) of the collision line between the free Ohio blacks, whether born free or manumitted before the war, and the freed contrabands of war pouring over the Ohio border to find their own race despising them and closing even the churches against them. The "Black Invasion" has a tragic interest peculiarly its own, not lessened by its brevity and the speedy coming of the day when free and contraband huddled together for common safety, and when the black boy who killed Raymond Stothard did it, "not because he was fighting for a principle, but because the white man had made his mother cry the day before. His ideas were still primitive." Mr. Dunbar's clear style adds much to the effect of this study of war days.

"The Warners," "an American story of today," is a futile tale of true love, honest toil, wealthy oppression, loud-mouthed Anarchism, fistcuffs, dynamite, and other such boon companions in fiction. It is not quite bad enough to call for deep cursing; certainly not good enough to win benediction.

There is not much to be said of "The Vengeance of the Mob" as to form and finish, but it is a horribly visible panorama of the diabolic wreaking of Lynch law upon the negroes among the "Crackers" of Florida. Mr. Hamilton has closely studied the poor white population of the South. He is inflamed with indignation at the atrocities practised there in the name of justice, yet does not weaken his position by describing the negro as a saint. His book is obviously a call to repentance and one of fearful appeal. Deliberate encouragement by the whites of acts too terrible for relation leads to the climax of the love part of the story. But is it not, after all, something of an anti-climax that the girl who has egged on the mob to torture a negro should be crushed by finding she has caused the death of the wrong person? Is it so very much worse to cut into strips and burn an innocent man than a guilty?

It poultices the nerves to turn for an hour to Vermont and the bringing-up in truth and wood-lore of 'Sam Lovel's Boy.' Lovers and lamenters of the late Rowland Robinson will meet again with satisfaction Gran'ther Hill, Uncle Lisha at his cobbling, Mrs. Purington still sniffing at her ammonia bottle in her unreconclement to things as they are, and the ever-welcome Ann Twine, him of the silver tongue, the braggart, of matchless dialect. Minks, foxes, trout, dogs, and a boy are others of the cast. All the spring sap in the veins is stirred by mention of the "shedblow tree over there in the woods 't looks ju' like a haycock ketched in a snowstorm." The atmosphere of a Vermont winter, too, is no less keenly felt on reading of the spelling school, where Solon Briggs, "making excursions into his own wonderful vocabulary," gives out the word "superbuberosity."

Of Vermont, again, is 'Old Bowen's Legacy'; reminiscent, moreover, of villagers seen and known in the author's earlier 'Deacon Bradbury.' It is not about forests

and fox-traps, but about the village of Fenton, the lawyer, the storekeeper, the spinster, the deacon, the farmer. The motive concerns a legacy left with three trustees to give as they shall see fit at the expiration of the year, which disposition the reviewer will not here disclose, regarding it as a professional secret. The evolution of character in the case of the tyrant husband seems quite improbable, and his experience at the hands of the professor of legerdemain is startling. Yet the improbable and the startling fall in some way to give marked individuality to this novel. No doubt, however, it will yield content to those who like their story-books highly seasoned with bread and milk.

"The Wizard's Knot" is woven of the best matter afforded on Erin's soil. It sings the wild Celtic strain of blood that makes poets of some, half madmen of some, of others wizards and twiners of the cords of fate. Nor absent is the familiar Irish spirit of every-day. "When you can't cure the disease, you play jigs to it." Most characteristic of all is the meeting of both temperaments in one person, and this too is exemplified; but as a whole the story is sombre, gloomy, and shiveringly fantastic; captivating the imagination, rich in color, distinguished in style—in all ways a masterly work in the field of Celtic romance.

'Martin Brook' began life as an ill-treated little apprentice, and ended it as a Methodist preacher. The sight of a fugitive slave in New York State given back to his master turned Martin from law to gospel, and made of him an abolitionist who suffered for his opinions, but lived to see the emancipation of the slaves. The story is long, and, to tell the truth, prosy; but has its place for readers not saturated with books compounded of anti-slavery, love, and Methodism.

Had Blanche Amory lived in the South before and after the war, and written a book about it, it would have been worded much as is 'In White and Black.' The "wounded deer," the "surging of sorrow," the pages of love and lofty declaration from Him crowned by Her—"Mr. Kenyon, I should be insincere if I should say this is a surprise"; the "Happy souls, we leave you to your bliss," belong by rights to the authoress of 'Mes Larmes.' Enriched by Mammy dialect, these flowers of speech form an international alliance that could be effected in only one region of the world. A touch of departure from stereotype is the glimpse into tramp life afforded by the adventures of the hero during his temporary rôle of wounded deer. We have only praise for the noble paper and print.

An orgie of adventure awaits him who cuts and hews his way through the five hundred pages of Rider Haggard's 'Lysbeth.' When the achievements of this century are reversed by the next, it may come to pass that our historic novels of hairbreadth 'scapes will be condensed back into the original history, which will then be found to be of hairbreadth scope. But for the dedication to the memory of William the Silent ("et les morts ne reviennent pas!"), and for some skirmishing between religions, and for the consecration of the Recovered Treasure to saving the city of Leyden, the scene of 'Lysbeth' might as well have been Zanzibar in the eighth century as Holland in the sixteenth. Reciprocally, it may equally well be in Holland, since, though each

heart can supply a different place, they cannot fail all to sing Rider Haggard. Far above and beyond the local claims of history are the figures of girls surmounting floods on windmill wreckage; hags of sixty scuttling ships, giants with long beards bowling over three prison guards at once and holding doors fast against soldiers by the half-dozen. (Incidentally, it is cautionary to find the giant temporarily forgetting that his sword hilt holds the map which is the pivot of the plot. If the giant forgets, what may not happen some fine day to the reader?) Nor, in these days of empire and civil-service extension, is the competitive examination style of narration limited to any particular spot on earth. "Was it not worth while to take the risk? If he hurt her would she not crush him? Would not history repeat itself? By the way, why was the man so fond of playing cards?" Peace be with them that love to read these things. Plenty they are not like to lack.

*A Sailor's Log.* By Robley D. Evans, Rear-Admiral, U. S. N. D. Appleton & Co.

The author of 'A Sailor's Log' is unfortunate in the sobriquet of "Fighting Bob" Evans, bestowed upon him by injudicious admirers. This would indicate that he was a mere vulgar brawler, always "looking for trouble," whereas the contrary is clearly revealed in the record of his forty years' experience as a naval officer. When it is time to fight, no man fights with greater tenacity or determination, as, when acting ensign, he took part with the naval contingent in the land attack on Fort Fisher, in our civil war. When prudence is called for, no one is more capable of self-restraint, as when, in command of the *Yorktown*, he successfully resisted the efforts of the Chileans of Valparaíso to goad him into the committal of some act of hostility. When the moment arrives for the display of fine magnanimity, he is equal to it, as when, on the battle-ship *Iowa*, after the naval fight off Santiago, he received, as prisoners of war, Admiral Cervera and other officers of the defeated Spanish squadron. These characteristics illuminate every chapter of the book.

Robley Dunglison Evans is a native of Virginia. He was appointed to the navy from the then Territory of Utah. In order to legalize the appointment it was necessary that he should become a resident of Utah for a specified period. This involved a journey thither at a time when it was beset with perils from hostile Indians, and it was in an encounter with these that the author received his first wound—an arrow in the tendon of the left ankle. From the Indians he harvested also his earliest sobriquet—"Little Breeches"—on account of his youth and diminutive size. After completing the period of residence in Utah, young Evans reported at the Naval Academy, which he entered in September, 1860. He was at Annapolis at the opening of the civil war, and was among those transferred to Newport in consequence of it. Remaining loyal, he was commissioned acting ensign in 1863 and ordered to the *Powhatan*, which in due season was attached to the fleet, under Admiral Porter, that assisted in the attack on Fort Fisher. Early in the engagement he was wounded in the left leg, just below the knee. After effecting temporary repairs he resumed



fighting, when he was shot through the right knee by the same sharp-shooter who had wounded him in the first instance. This completely disabled him. What followed had better be told in his own words, as it offers a characteristic example of his pluck and combative instincts.

"When I received the wound on my right knee, I began at once to try to stop the flow of blood. I used for the purpose one of the half-dozen silk handkerchiefs with which I had provided myself; but I was so tired and weak from loss of blood that I was some time doing the trick. In the meantime my sharp-shooter friend, about thirty-five yards away, continued to shoot at me, at the same time addressing me in very forcible but uncomplimentary language. At the fifth shot, I think it was, he hit me again, taking off the end of one of my toes, and tearing off the sole of my shoe, and wrenching my ankle dreadfully. I thought the bullet had gone through my ankle, the pain was so intense. For some reason, I don't know why, this shot made me unreasonably angry, and, rolling over in the sand so as to face my antagonist, I addressed a few brief remarks to him; and then, just as some one handed him a freshly loaded musket, I fired, aiming at his breast. I knew all the time that I should kill him if I shot at him, but had not intended to do so until he shot me in the toe. My bullet went a little high, striking the poor chap in the throat and passing out at the back of his neck. He staggered around, after dropping his gun, and finally pitched over the parapet and rolled down near me, where he lay dead."

Of the terrible sufferings the author endured before he was rescued from his perilous position, he gives a graphic account. When he was removed to the hospital at Norfolk, the surgeons decided that it would be necessary to amputate both of his legs. They made preparations accordingly. Young Evans was equally determined that he had use for these members, and would not part with them. The better to preserve them, he placed a loaded revolver under his pillow, and when the surgeon told him what it was proposed to do, he produced the weapon and delivered himself of the following ultimatum: "I told him [the surgeon] that there were six loads in it, and if he or any one else entered my door with anything that looked like a case of instruments, I meant to begin shooting, and that I would kill six before they cut my legs off." This chilled the enthusiasm of the doctors, and young Evans saved his legs, but at a price in the way of suffering which few men would have given for the privilege. No one can read the account of the author's share in the attack on Fort Fisher, and of the subsequent agony he endured from his wounds, without feeling that he is brought in actual contact with one of those remarkable characters familiar in fiction, but rare in real life.

At the close of the civil war the author of 'A Sailor's Log' passed through the conventional routine of naval life—watch or executive officer of various ships, shore duty, and then in intermittent command until he attained to his present rank. His narrative covers all of these phases, each diversified by incidents of varying interest. The monotony was interrupted on three or four different occasions—in the disturbance with Chili, in which he acted a conspicuous part, and in the subsequent war with Spain. Had he been attacked by the Chilean fleet, as at one time threatened, the gunboat *Yorktown*, of which he was in command, would have been its sole opponent. In his long record of worthy service, no page is brighter than that which describes his conduct of affairs at Valparaiso. The mere narration of what he did displays, one might almost say in

spite of himself, a cool firmness and a resourceful tact which were of priceless value. The story is rather harmed than helped by the introduction of sanguinary reflections, and of such expressions as the grim determination to "blow her bottom out" if a Chilean torpedo-boat happened to touch the *Yorktown*, etc. In such an encounter, the torpedo-boat, and not the *Yorktown*, would have been seriously damaged. There is hardly a naval officer who would have been less willing than was Admiral Evans to engage the nine Chilean vessels in that harbor had the need arisen, but there are very few who would have acted as wisely as he, and thus have averted an international catastrophe. This he did without yielding the point of honor.

To discuss the events off Santiago would reopen a regrettable controversy, temporarily if not permanently hushed, for which there is, moreover, no space at our command. Nevertheless, we may express surprise that no explanation is given of the failure of the *Iouca*, our largest, newest, and fleetest battle-ship, barely a year in commission, to take and keep the place in the fight of July 3 to which her qualities entitled her. It appears from 'A Sailor's Log' that the Spanish ships passed the *Iouca* in turn, and that she followed in their rear, while the *Brooklyn* and *Oregon* were able to keep up the chase to the finish. That the *Brooklyn* should go faster was natural, but that the *Iouca* fell astern of the *Oregon* was a surprise to all who knew the ship and her captain's reputation.

As a record of facts, 'A Sailor's Log' should be used after comparison with authorities, but as a sea yarn it is entitled to high rank for its humor, its wealth of anecdote, its variety of scene, its simple and agreeable style. In this aspect it has no superior, and few equals. More particularly to those who are interested in all that pertains to a ship-of-war, in calm and in stress, in peace manoeuvres, amid a shower of exploding shells, or when the 13-inch turrets of a battle-ship, each weighing 500 tons, break loose in a gale of wind and are free to do as they choose, 'A Sailor's Log' supplies ample entertainment in graphic narration.

*Cæsars Rheinfestung.* Von H. Nissen und C. Koenen. Bonn: Sonderabdruck aus *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 104.

The question where Cæsar bridged the Rhine when he made his two expeditions into Germany, in 55 and 53 B. C., is of more than local significance. From the narrative in the fourth and sixth books of the 'Gallic War' it is evident that the further end of both bridges touched the country of the Ubii, while the west end started from the territory belonging to the Treveri; and Cæsar expressly states that the second bridge was only a short distance above the first. If the location of the two tribes mentioned can be fixed for the time of the Gallic Conquest, the region in which the bridges must have been built can be at least approximately defined; conversely, if the place where the bridges were can be determined, there is a starting-point for the settlement of several important problems in the political geography of ancient Germany.

Up to the present time opinion in regard to the location of the bridges has been hopelessly divided. Not less than twenty places

have been proposed, from Xanten, below Düsseldorf, as far south as Mayence, a distance of about two hundred miles. Philologists, historians, engineers, and military men have attacked the problem from different points of view; and although, from the inadequacy of the data, a final solution has not seemed possible, the choice of location has gradually been restricted. The latest scholar to examine the question from all sides before the publication of the present monograph, Mr. Rice Holmes, gave it as his opinion "that both the first and the second bridge were built between Andernach and Coblenz" ('Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul,' p. 697), a distance of barely twelve miles. Mr. Holmes's incisive argument needed only the evidence of material facts to become convincing; and such evidence the monograph before us aims to present.

Below Urmitz, which lies about midway between Andernach and Coblenz, the left bank of the Rhine for some distance from the present bed is covered with several layers of volcanic sand and small bits of pumice-stone, thrown out in a prehistoric but not remote period from one of the craters about the Laacher See. The depth of the deposit, from the thin stratum of surface soil down to the clay underneath, varies from eight to seventeen feet, and the strata are so clearly defined that, in excavating, it is easy to see where they have been disturbed. In a photograph showing a transverse section of a trench that has been filled in, the contrast between the undisturbed whitish material on either side and the earth in the trench, mixed with surface soil, can be as plainly seen as in a drawing. For several decades the pumice has been used for making "Engers stone"; and as the demand has increased, the pits for extracting it have become correspondingly extensive, and the volcanic deposit for considerable distances has been cleared away to the depth of twelve feet or more.

Visiting the pumice-pits in February, 1898, Constantine Koenen saw indisputable traces of earthworks, the significance of which he was not slow to recognize. He interested various persons in the discovery, among whom was Professor Nissen of the University of Bonn. Funds were provided, and it was made possible to determine the character and extent of the earthworks by means of excavations, which were carried on from October, 1898, to March, 1899. The results are incorporated in this joint paper, the historical and critical part of which is contributed by Nissen, while Koenen presents a concise account of the excavations, well illustrated by views and drawings.

The earthworks formed the periphery of an extensive enclosure, in shape roughly resembling a semicircle with its diameter, measuring about 4,300 Roman feet (1,274.50 metres), resting upon the Rhine. They consisted of three parts: an outer trench, having an average width, at the top, of twenty-five Roman feet, a depth of five feet; an inner trench, thirty Roman feet wide and six feet deep; and a rampart made of the earth thrown out of the trenches, which, as shown by a calculation based upon the cubic contents of the material to be disposed of, was probably twenty Roman feet wide at the bottom, twelve at the top, and twelve feet high. The outer edge of the rampart rested against heavy palisades, planted five

feet in the ground; the trench in which they were set, and in which charred remains of timber were found, was two Roman feet wide. As the top of the palisades where the battlements were must have been at least seven feet above the top of the rampart, we are perhaps safe in assuming, for the longer timbers, a length of twenty-five feet. Between the palisades and the inner trench was an open space twenty Roman feet wide; a similar space, twice as wide, separated the inner from the outer trench. At the gate openings, of which a number, large and small, were discovered, the system of defences was arranged with a high degree of military skill in order to protect the approaches.

From the standard of measurement it is evident that we must recognize in these fortifications the work of a Roman army; but fortunately data are at hand for a somewhat more precise determination of chronological limits. At the east end are traces of a smaller and later fortified enclosure, rectangular in form, the sides of which intercept the earlier line of works at two points; this, from the character of the remains associated with it, is identified (with much probability) as one of the line of forts constructed by Drusus along the left bank of the Rhine in 12 B. C. It is interesting to note that the earlier works extended across a portion of a cemetery, in the graves of which the excavators found bronze ornaments and pottery belonging to the period just preceding the Gallic Conquest, but nothing that could be assigned to a later time.

What was the purpose of the large enclosure? Nissen and Koenen answer that it was the fortified camp built by Caesar in 53 B. C. to defend the second bridge, and that it was probably occupied by troops so long as he remained in Gaul. It certainly tallies well with this explanation that remains of a series of piles were found in 1896 in the bed of the Rhine at a point corresponding with the probable direction of the main street running across the camp to the bank, and that other piles have been met with in dredging the river at the upper end of the small island of Thurmer Werth, about three-quarters of a mile below, which may be assigned to the first bridge. The argument based upon the discovery of piles, however, is not so conclusive as it might at first appear to be; for in the Middle Ages rows of piles were driven in the bed of the Rhine in order to make it possible to exact tolls from passing craft.

The limitations of space do not permit us to examine all the considerations adduced by the authors in favor of their plausible and interesting hypothesis. The balance of probability is on their side; yet there are two difficulties which need to be cleared up before a complete verdict can be rendered. The shape of the fortification is strikingly unlike the normal type of fortified camp used by Caesar in Gaul, as illustrated, for example, by that on the Aisne, and the larger camp at Gergovia, discovered in the course of the excavations undertaken by Napoleon III.; Caesar was no slave to rules, yet it is not clear why such a departure should have been made in this case. Finally, if Caesar's bridge stood at the point indicated, some traces of it may still await discovery on the other side of the river. When these are brought

to light, the most important gap in the evidence will have been filled.

*Five Years of my Life. 1894-1899. By Alfred Dreyfus. McClure, Phillips & Co. 1901.*

A man may deserve sympathy and respect no less by enduring than by doing; and a confessor who survives through superior physical and mental strength may be as honorable as a martyr whose body succumbs while his spirit triumphs. Though the notoriety of his trial exhausted the possibilities of comment and of emotion in 1899, M. Dreyfus's efforts toward vindication are righteous, and anything which can keep so phenomenal a case fresh in memory may be regarded as a public service.

The main circumstances of his arrest and degradation in 1894, and the outline of his experiences on Devil's Isle, are familiar; the details are now filled in at first hand. We are told how, on arriving there in April, 1895, he was supplied with "some coffee berries in filthy condition," but with "no means of roasting" them; how the next day he received some raw meat, which he managed to broil on "stray scraps of iron" of his own collecting, after working two hours to gather wood for fuel; how in May his feet were sunburned "because I went out without my shoes for a few seconds"; how he lived on letters, which took an average of three months to reach him; how he learned that his own letters were likewise delayed or confiscated; how he had to remain shut up in his hut through part of June, because convicts were at work on the guards' quarters, and how he tried to relieve the monotony by giving three or four hours a day to English. "But the rest of the time my thoughts are always harking back to the horrible tragedy." In July, "I am followed everywhere; all I do is a matter of suspicion and rebuke. When I walk, they say I am tiring out the guard who must accompany me; and if I say that I will not leave my hut, they threaten to punish me." In August he omitted writing for three weeks: "What is the use of it?" On November 4 the temperature was 113 degrees. On the 15th he thought his strength was "declining daily" and near its limit; a fortnight later, "My reason will end by sinking under the strain of this inconceivable treatment." Yet there was to be nearly four years more of this, and worse.

At the end of 1895, "My nerves trouble me so that I am afraid to lie down. This silence of the tomb, with no news of my dear ones for three months, with nothing to read, crushes and overwhelms me." A month later some books arrived, but he could "no longer read for any length of time." Another month, and "the guards are forbidden to answer" his few questions. Later he writes, "I asked long ago for some manual labor, no matter of what sort, to occupy myself a little. They have not even answered me." On September 6, 1896, he was put in irons, as "a measure of precaution." Facing p. 220 is a plan of his hut and his bed, with the rings for his feet, the bar to which they were attached, the staples, knob, and padlock to keep them fast. This nightly discipline, "without a minute's exercise by day," was continued for over two months. Soon after it began, his diary was abandoned, and his papers were seized.

M. Dreyfus is neither a rhetorician nor a stoic; his book is mainly a simple record of natural feeling under the pressure of hideous injustice and cruelty. But from his worst

agonies he evolved what may stand among the noblest protests against suicide, a passage wherein Cleanthes and Epictetus might recognize their own spirit at its height, with an advance on their doctrine of the open door. Let him introduce it in his own way:

"On one of these long nights of torture, when riveted to my bed, with sleep far from my eyes, I sought my guiding star, my guide in moments of supreme resolve; I saw all at once the light before me illuminating for me my duty. 'To-day less than ever have you the right to desert your post; less than ever have you the right to shorten even by a single hour your wretched life. Whatever the torments they inflict on you, you must march forward until they throw you into your grave; you must stand up before your executioners so long as you have a shadow of strength, a living wreck to be kept before their eyes by the unassailable sovereignty of the soul which they cannot reach.'"

After the "boucles," other woes might seem insignificant. "I had to protect my table [from ants] by placing the legs in old tin cans filled with petroleum." Insects devoured his books, which were mostly of history and literature, with Montaigne and, "best of all," Shakspeare. "Not possessing the necessary books in mathematics, I made up for myself the elements of the integral and differential calculus." To do this he "compelled" his thoughts, "for moments, always too short," away from personal topics. Early in 1897 his wife's letters began to be withheld, or to reach him only in copies. In March he wrote to her, in another moment of exaltation, "This life is nothing. A pure soul that has a sacred duty to fulfil must rise above suffering." In August he was moved to new quarters: here "the attitude of my jailers toward me varied with the changes of the situation in France—a situation of which I was in complete ignorance." Traps were laid—to catch a confession, if that might be. "In my nights of nervous irritation, when I was a prey to nightmare, the man on guard-duty would draw near to my bed, trying to catch the words that escaped from my lips." The commandant, Deniel, was not above personal spying: to this man the prisoner ascribes much of his miseries. "No torture more nerve-racking and more insulting . . . to have two eyes full of enmity levelled at you day and night, . . . and never to be able to escape or defy them!"

But this was not to last for ever. In January, 1898, the Government had thirteen guards to watch its helpless captive, and a Hotchkiss gun to keep off possible rescuers. In November these rigors had some mitigation, and in June, 1899, he was sent back to France.

There is no violation of privacy here. Dishonor and fame were thrust upon an innocent man, and every item of the oppressions he endured became the world's concern. Nor will his narrative lessen the feelings of civilized people toward the heroic victim and his faithful wife—nor, in another way, toward his persecutors. His comment on his reception at home is at one with the common sense of Europe and America: "Where I had expected to find men united in common love of truth and justice, desirous to make amends for a frightful judicial error, I found only anxious faces, petty precautions, a wild disembarkation on a stormy sea in the middle of the night, with physical sufferings added to the trouble of my mind." He closes with a sentence



from the card put forth on the day of his liberation: "My heart will never be satisfied while there is a single Frenchman who imputes to me the abominable crime which another committed." In this he is apparently doomed to disappointment. But outside France, and with the best people in it, his vindication is not a thing yet to be accomplished.

*Stories of the High Priests of Memphis:*

The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas. By F. L. Griffith, M. A. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.

Every one is more or less familiar with the Oriental tales of magic which invaded Europe in the Middle Ages and colored mediæval romance. In the stories of Charlemagne and his paladins occur magical incidents which remind the reader at once of the Arabian Nights, with such common figures as the malevolent African enchanter, whom we encounter, for instance, in the story of Aladdin. But this African enchanter, it seems, as well as these tales of magic in general, while they come to Europe from the East, are older than the Arabian Nights. The well-known Egyptian scholar, F. L. Griffith, M.A., has just published two 'Stories of the High Priests of Memphis,' from demotic texts. The hero of them is a certain Khamuas, a high priest, son of the famous Rameses II., who flourished about 1250 B. C. The stories themselves, however, belong to the Ptolemaic and early Roman period, the second and later dating from the latter half of the first century A. D. It is this story, now published for the first time, under the title of "The Tale of Khamuas and his Son Si-osi," which introduces the African or Ethiopian magician. It involves also a contest between magicians which reminds the reader strikingly of the strife of Jannes and Jambres with Moses, referred to in the New Testament (2 Timothy, iii., 8), and clearly derived from Egyptian-Jewish sources. The other story, here called "The Tale of Khamuas and Neneferkaptah," had been already published by Brugsch and others, and in English by Mr. Griffith himself in the Egyptian section of 'The World's Best Literature' (New York, 1898). An English scholar, Thomas Young, was among the first workers in the interpretation of demotic texts (1820-1830), but from his time to the present no work had been done in that field by Englishmen, and, for that matter, but little by Egyptian scholars in general. Brugsch did, for a time, apply himself to demotic, in connection with his dictionary of hieroglyphic and demotic, and a few scholars in France and Germany have in later years given it some attention; but on the whole this branch of Egyptian study has been neglected, so that Mr. Griffith's publication will be even more welcome to the student of Egyptian than to the student of folklore.

That the Egyptians early developed a literature of stories, we know from the hieratic texts of the Middle and New Kingdoms, antedating 1200 B. C. For the succeeding centuries, until 150 B. C., we have no stories from Egyptian texts, but both the Bible and Herodotus evidently drew upon Egyptian tales of that period. After 150 B. C. there seems to have been a considerable demotic story literature, the heroes of which were men of the past, like Setne or Sethon Khamuas, indicating a reworking of ancient ma-

terial. Magic plays an important part in these stories, as it had done also in those of the preceding period, drawn upon by Herodotus and the Bible. The two stories now published by Mr. Griffith are specimens of this literature. It is to be hoped that more of it may soon be made accessible to the general reader.

The second part of the book, "Philological," which covers 141 pages out of a total of 207, contains a transliteration of both stories, with word-for-word translation and commentary, for the student of demotic. Through the enlightened beneficence of the authorities of the Oxford University Press, there is published also in connection with this volume a folio of "facsimiles of the Demotic Text of the Second Tale," ten plates in all, five photogravure reproductions of the manuscripts, and five clear hand copies. The text of the first tale had already been published by Mariette (Brugsch's copy), Krall, Revillout, and Hess.

*The Norwegian North Polar Expedition,*

1893-96: Scientific Results. Edited by Fridtjof Nansen. Vol. II. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1901. Pp. ix, 422, 19 charts and plates.

The second volume of Nansen's "Scientific Results" is devoted to astronomical, magnetic, and pendulum observations. The testimony of the experts who have worked up the notes to the industry and ability displayed by the explorers is unanimous; and, with due allowance for inevitable defects arising from the conditions of the Arctic region and the often literal struggle for life, the results are most satisfactory. Except the observations made on the sledge journey, most of those which formed the basis for these discussions were made by Capt. Sigurd Scott-Hansen, to whom Nansen accords his hearty appreciation. The astronomical computations are due to Prof. Geelmuyden, who had assisted the expedition in its outfitting and by useful advice. The two points in his portion of the work which will be of interest to the average reader are the highest nothing attained respectively by Nansen on his sledge journey and by the *Fram*. The ship in her drift reached a latitude of 85° 55' 50", in east longitude from Greenwich 66° 8', on November 15, 1895. This was her farthest north, and practically 304 geographical miles from the Pole. At their farthest north, April 7, 1895, Nansen and Johansen observed the latitude which reduces to 86° 12.3'; but the computer, on account of the meteorological conditions, regards this as too high, and plats the culmination of the sledge journey northward in latitude 86° 4', a point about eight miles farther north than that reached by the *Fram* during her drift.

The magnetic observations were worked up by Aksel Steen of the Meteorological Institute of Christiania, and, presenting no specially remarkable features, are interesting chiefly to specialists in this department. The pendulum observations were taken by the method of coincidences, with apparatus of the Von Sterneck type, of which the constants were determined at Vienna. No land was found in the Arctic basin, but Scott-Hansen thought that the steadiness of the ship in the grip of the pack-ice warranted attempts to observe on board after every one had retired except the observer. Though

some doubt was felt as to the value of observations taken under such abnormal conditions, they were persevered in, and, according to Nansen, their discussion by Prof. O. E. Schiötz now appears to yield some of the most important physical results of the expedition. The latter states (p. 63) that

"Nansen's expedition has furnished the first answer to the question as to what are the facts with regard to the force of gravity over great ocean depths. The observations show that the gravity may be regarded as normal over the polar basin; and, as it is not probable that this is a peculiarity of the Polar Sea, we are led to the assumption that the force of gravity is normal all over the great oceans. The increased attraction observed on oceanic islands must therefore only be due to the local attraction of the heaped-up masses at the bottom of the ocean that form the islands."

From these considerations Schiötz is led to some conclusions in regard to the physics of the earth's crust which will be of much interest to physicists, but which cannot be detailed here.

The work is issued in the attractive form noted in the case of the previous volume, and is a storehouse of facts of real importance for the students of gravity and magnetism.

*Two Lectures Introductory to the Study of Poetry.* By the Rev. H. C. Beeching, M.A. Cambridge: The University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901.

Although written for the help of young students of poetry, Mr. Beeching's two lectures are not conventionally academic. Within the limits of their length, the analysis of the theme is both close and fresh. As must always be the case in the honest analysis of a question so near the springs of intellectual life as that of the nature of poetry, much food is furnished for the thought of the maturer scholar. For such a reader, moreover, the attraction of the thin volume is enhanced by many bits of the excellent Shaksperian criticism by which Mr. Beeching has already become known.

The first lecture, that on "Passion and Imagination in Poetry," proceeds from the Miltonic text, that poetry is "simple, sensuous, and passionate." It is a little strange that so good a scholar as Mr. Beeching appears to be, should make the classic slip of implying that Milton asserted absolutely that poetry should possess those three qualities. As a matter of fact, the poet merely said that in making up the order of studies for the young, poetry should precede logic and rhetoric, being "less subtle and fine, but more simple, sensuous, and passionate." The discrepancy is not great, but too frequent use of such tags by many critics betrays habits of second-hand quotation and avoidance of verification which are insidious and bad.

The discussion of the function of the imagination in writing and in reading poetry is excellent. Without being bald, it is plain and clear. The idealizing work of the imagination, its relation to poetic sympathy, its shaping and its kindling power are treated with insight and some gift of exposition. There is, however, room for objection to Mr. Beeching's treatment of fancy and imagination. He holds that Wordsworth's notion that fancy sees arbitrary or accidental resemblance where imagination finds vital unity or connection, has been vicious in its results. He says truly enough that Coleridge merely distinguished the one from the other as the adorning and embellishing

gift of the poet from his constructive power, from the interpretative or visionary insight of the true "maker." Mr. Beeching takes well-grounded exception to Ruskin's Wordsworthian elimination of fancy from imagination, and his well-known comparison of the flow of the river in 'Lycidas' and "A Winter's Tale." But, after making due allowance for the over- and mis-use of these terms, we still think they are so useful in the criticism of the conceited poetry of the seventeenth century and its modern analogues, that we cannot agree with Mr. Beeching that the contrast is one "which critics might now be content to let die."

The first lecture concludes with some admirable paragraphs in which the characters of Macbeth and Richard II. are anatomized—the one as a type of the man with a true poetic and (in the strict sense) idealizing imagination; the other as a minor poet and sentimentalist. The second lecture, upon "Expression in Poetry," will be equally useful, no doubt, but it is less pregnant. Despite the efforts of scholars of all sorts, from Guest and Schipper to Sidney Lanier and Robert Bridges, the final rationale of English verse is still to seek. Even if it were desirable, it is now hardly possible to systematize all the wandering airs and fleeting graces of English poetry. Mr. Beeching's treatment of these is as satisfactory as such discussions usually are, and his talk of form, melody, and the poetic phrase is of a kind to make his reader more keenly alive to such actual beauties in the poetry which he comes to know.

*A Study of Christian Missions.* By William Newton Clarke, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1900.

As proceeding from one of the most intelligent and trusted religious teachers in our country, these lectures have an attraction which heightens their intrinsic interest. The motive of missionary labor is represented as a desire to give the best of religion and life to those who are in need of them. The contention that any other motive than the traditional one—to save men from eternal hell—would "cut the nerve of missions," is discredited, on the ground that the dreadful fate of all unbelievers is no longer certain, and because we know that men prove good missionaries without this motive. Another departure from traditional lines is the view that planting and

nourishing a Christian life, and not heralding the doom of the heathen, is the missionary's proper work. It is further argued that Christian natives, and not foreigners, are our best reliance. Bushnell's idea of Christian nurture as opposed to spasmodic conversion is steadily upheld. The slight effect of missionary effort on the mass of Roman Catholics, Mohammedans, and Jews is frankly confessed. The denominational division is deprecated as unsatisfactory, but is held to be indispensable for the present. It is admitted that there is "a crisis in missions" already upon us, and that this is much wider than the Chinese problem, the treatment of which is extremely casual.

Dr. Clarke resents the charge of missionary responsibility for the outbreak in China, "when the exasperating aggressions of the Western Powers are known of all men." He has but a poor opinion of Kaiser Wilhelm's policy of "No quarter in Christ's name," and does not incline to the persuasion that civilization must be the vanguard of missionary enterprise. "Just now," he says, "civilization does not seem to be exhibiting itself most favorably as the ally of Christianity." "In much of the current talk about its introduction to new peoples through war and commerce there is a profound ignorance of Christianity and an effrontery that is almost incredible." "It needs no proof that the spirit of war is most intensely hostile to the spirit of missions." "All race antagonisms work in the wrong direction." These sentiments are in happy contrast with the "blood and iron" Christianity of many pious enthusiasts of our time. Dr. Clarke's construction of the ethnic religions, however, as the outgrowth of man's natural religiousness, yet now and henceforth encumbrances which must be destroyed, is hardly to be distinguished from that attitude of superiority and contempt which he eloquently deprecates.

#### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

"A. P. H." Grandmother's Cook Book. Published by the Author. 50 cents.  
 Avirett, J. B. The Old Plantation. F. Tennyson Neely Co.  
 Brannon, Henry. The Fourteenth Amendment. Cincinnati: W. H. Anderson & Co.  
 Breen, J. W. If? Turning Points in the Careers of Notable People. Pittsburgh: Published by the Author.  
 Brooke, Allison. When She Came to Herself. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 75 cents.  
 Brownell, G. G. Alarcón's El Capitán Veneno. American Book Co. 50 cents.  
 Buckley, G. W. The Wit and Wisdom of Jesus. Boston: James H. West Co. \$1.

Cralk, Sir Henry. A Century of Scottish History. 2 vols. Scribners. \$7.50.  
 Crane, Walter. Of the Decorative Illustration of Books Old and New. New ed. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. \$2.  
 Croker, B. M. A State Secret, and Other Stories. F. M. Buckles & Co. \$1.25.  
 Croly, George. Tarry Thou till I Come. Funk & Wagnalls Co. \$1.40.  
 Crowninshield, Mrs. Schuyler. Valencia's Garden. McClure, Phillips & Co. \$1.50.  
 Dawson, M. M. Poems of the New Time. Alliance Pub. Co. \$1.25.  
 Deissmann, G. A. Bible Studies. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribners. \$3.  
 Devine, E. T. The Practice of Charity. Lenthilhon & Co.  
 Dickens, Charles. (Authentic Edition): (1) David Copperfield; (2) Barnaby Rudge; (3) Great Expectations; (4) Our Mutual Friend. Scribners.  
 Elshemush, L. M. "Lady" Vere, and Other Narratives. New ed. Abbey Press. \$1.  
 Fowler, Ellen Thorneycroft. Sirius. D. Appleton & Co.  
 Fradenburgh, J. N. Life's Springtime. Abbey Press. \$1.  
 Gardiner, James. The Paston Letters, 1422-1509. 4 vols. London: Archibald Constable & Co.; New York: Macmillan.  
 Gibbs, George. In Search of Mademoiselle. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co. \$1.50.  
 Girdner, J. H. New Yorkitis. Grafton Press.  
 Going, Maud. With the Wild Flowers. The Baker & Taylor Co.  
 Goodrich, W. W. The Bench and Bar as Makers of the American Republic. E. B. Treat & Co. 50 cents.  
 Gordon, A. L. Racing Rhymes and Other Verses. R. H. Russell.  
 Gordon, Jane. Dickens's Story of Little Nell. American Book Co. 50 cents.  
 Greenough, J. B., and Daniel, M. G. Sallust's Catiline. Boston: Ginn & Co. 97 cents.  
 Hill, Mabel. Liberty Documents. Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.  
 Jókai, Maurus. Manasseh. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.  
 Lush, C. K. The Autocrats. Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.50.  
 Macklin, M. The Mystery of the Marbletons. Abbey Press. 50 cents.  
 Morris, M. D. Fighting against Fate. Abbey Press. \$1.  
 Müller, F. Max. Last Essays. Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.75.  
 Newman, A. H. A Century of Baptist Achievement. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.  
 Perkins, F. M. Qualitative Chemical Analysis, Organic and Inorganic. Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.40.  
 Philippines Military Memorandum Book. Capt. A. von Brandis.  
 Philo, John. Shakespearean Notes and New Readings. New ed. Industrial Publication Society. 25 cents.  
 Potter, Margaret H. The House of De Mailly. Harpers. \$1.50.  
 Quinn, J. P. Was Eve Guilty? Buffalo: J. P. Quinn. 50 cents.  
 Raymond, W. M. Two Men and Some Women. Abbey Press. \$1.  
 Reed, Carmen. Earth's Empress and Victoria. Detroit: Ruskin Guild. 50 cents.  
 Rijnhart, Suele C. With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple. Fleming H. Revell Co. \$1.50.  
 Rogers, Charlotte B. A Mistress of Many Moods. Abbey Press. 50 cents.  
 Schmidt, F. A., and Miles, E. H. The Training of the Body. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.50.  
 Scudder, Vida D. Introduction to the Study of English Literature. Globe School Book Co.  
 Searle, E. W. With a Policeman in South Africa. Abbey Press. 75 cents.  
 Stickney, Helen R. H. Verses. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.  
 Tiernan, O. B. The Tiernan and Other Families. 2d ed. Baltimore: W. J. Gallery & Co. \$2.  
 Townsend, E. W. Days Like These. Harpers. \$1.50.  
 Travis, W. J. Practical Golf. Harpers.  
 Wheeler, Post. Love-in-a-Mist. The Camelot Company.  
 Young, D. F. Thoughts in Verse. Abbey Press. 75 cents.

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